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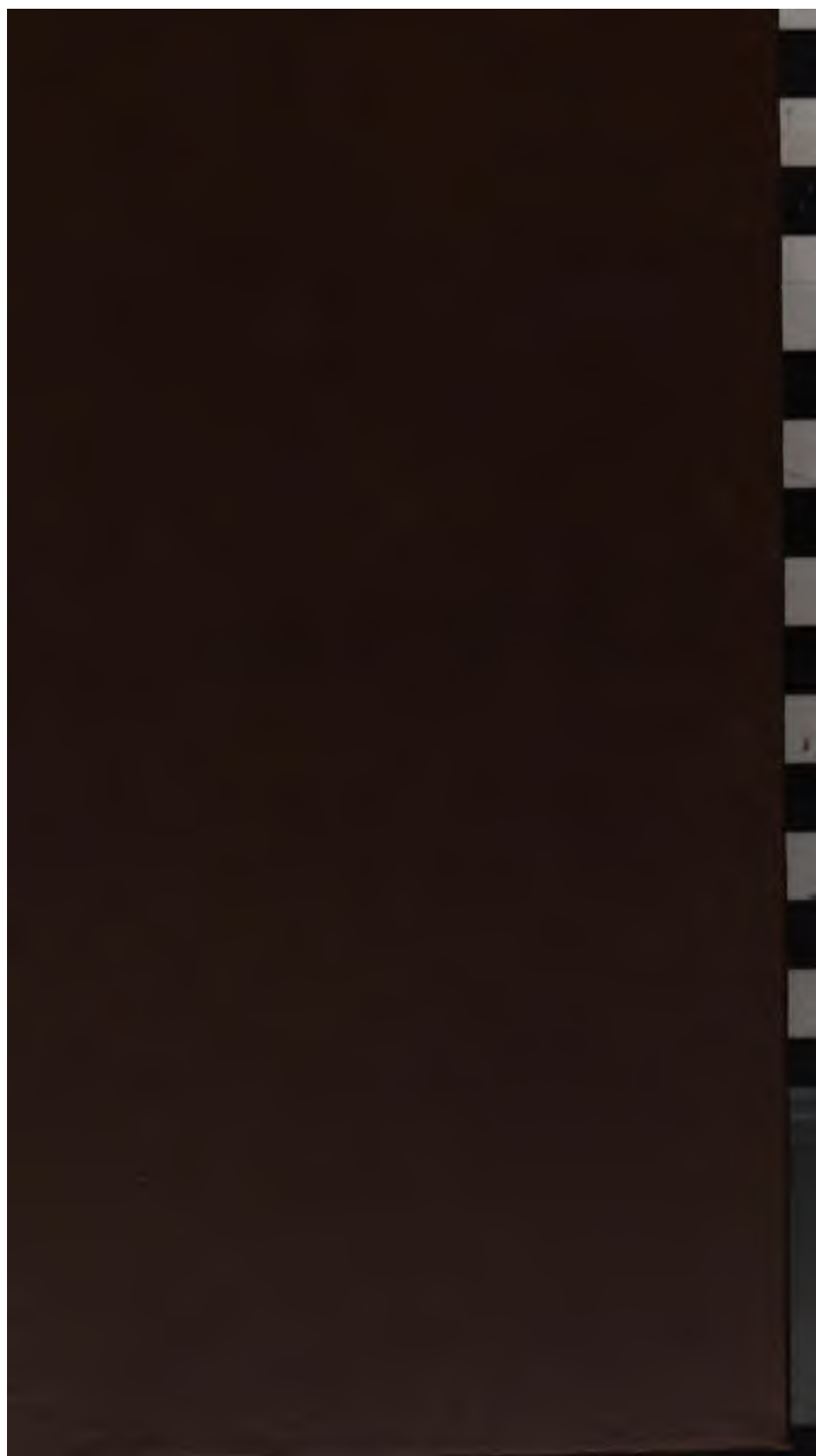
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7 MAY 1947

THE BRITISH ARMY.

VOL. I.



THE
BRITISH ARMY:

ITS

Origin, Progress, and Equipment.

BY

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TO
THE QUEEN,
THE FOUNTAIN OF HONOUR,
THESE VOLUMES ARE DEDICATED,
With Gracious Permission,
BY
HER MAJESTY'S
DUTIFUL AND OBEDIENT SUBJECT AND SERVANT,
SIBBALD DAVID SCOTT.

London, 1867.

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PREFACE.

THE military institutions of a country are so intimately connected with its social condition, that they are often the most faithful exponents of its early history. It has been observed that Great Britain is nearly the only large state in Europe which has, properly speaking, no military literature. Many valuable contributions there have been, but the pursuits of literature are but little in accordance with those of warfare.⁽¹⁾ There are abundant treatises on practical details of regimental manipulation, and many portions of our

(¹) The literary work of the year 1866 is thus summed up by *The Bookseller*:—"Religious books and pamphlets, 849; biographical and historical, 194; medical and surgical, 160; poetry and the drama, 232; novels, 390; minor fiction and children's books, 544; travels, topography, and geography, 195; annuals and serials (volumes only), 225; agriculture, horticulture, &c., 64; English philology and education, 196; European and classical philology and translation, 161; law, 84; *naval, military, and engineering*, 39; science, natural history, &c., 147; trade and commerce, 79; politics and questions of the day, 167; illustrated works, 85; art, architecture, &c., 34; miscellaneous, not classified, 359; total, 4,204."

modern army-history have been carefully compiled and skilfully edited; but the early composition of armies—how those great battles were fought and won, the very names of which, after the lapse of centuries, still excite our pride, and which gave promise of future triumphs—how the crowd of fighting men was collected and ranged under the banners of separate chieftains, the groundwork of our standing army—in these paths, somewhat intricate, frequently obscure, the English writers on military subjects have trodden but lightly.

It is to supply a deficiency of this nature that the author has undertaken a work, which, after some years of study, is now given to the public. Captain Grose has the merit of having been the pioneer in this branch of history; the same may be said of Sir Samuel Meyrick's great work on arms and armour: and, recently, those who are curious on that subject, have had the advantage of Mr. Hewitt's volumes. The researches of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French have thrown much light on the history of artillery.

The design has been to give a continuous narration, and not simply a work of reference, and it has been the endeavour to render it as accurate as possible. The labour in preparing a work of this

character is great, the result appears small ; those only who have themselves toiled in a new field of literature will be able to appreciate the difficulties which attend the search for authorities.

The subject is a wide one, and expands upon inquiry ; at first materials presented themselves but scantily, afterwards their superabundance imposed the task of selection. It is full of interest to all : during the eight centuries that have rolled away since the Norman Conquest, this country has undergone such changes, that its history appears like the fiction of the romancer ; neither can we attain to any consummation or resting-place, for events as fitful and remarkable as any that have passed are still in progress, our armaments are even now in a state of transition, Brown Bess is converted into a Snider, our wooden walls into iron plates.

Nations have their peculiarity of character, like individuals. Ours appears in a want of organisation from first to last : English armies have generally been inadequate in force, outnumbered by their foes, and usually deficient in supplies. A strange anomaly for a people so thoughtful and business-like. Yet have we great cause for gratitude and for pride, as a nation, when we look back at what we have achieved for our own liberty and for

that of Europe, by a generous and manly use of the weapon of the sword. ⁽¹⁾

That war is an evil, who can gainsay? But it appears one of those scourges permitted by Providence at once for the purification and punishment of our race. "I abominate war as unchristian," said Lord Brougham; "I hold it the greatest of human crimes. I deem it to involve all others—violence, blood, rapine, fraud; everything that can deform the character, alter the nature, and debase the name of man."

In conclusion, the noble words of one who took another view of the subject may aptly be quoted:—

"O God! how full of wonder are thy ways! The tempest goes forth in destruction, but the skies are cleared by its appalling energy, and nature soon reviving repairs its ravages with increased fertility. War, which is but too often the tempest of human passions, is also an agent of destruction; but its course awakens our highest energies, and in its final consequences the hand of a wise and benevolent Providence may not unfrequently be traced."⁽²⁾

The Author's warmest acknowledgments are

⁽¹⁾ Speech of the Duke of Argyle, at Dundee, on Peace and War.

⁽²⁾ Speech of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe before laying the foundation-stone of the Memorial Church, Constantinople.

due to the officers of the British Museum and Public Record Office, from whom he has invariably received every courtesy and facility, as also to many personal friends, who have afforded him valuable advice and assistance.

The graphic delineation of arms, armour, and costume, it is hoped, will be considered ably carried out by the pencil of Mr. Robert Taylor Pritchett, F.S.A., who seconded the intentions with all the zeal of a lover of the pursuit.

The subject of Cæsar's landing in Britain has been discussed somewhat lengthily, because it has lately attracted a large amount of public attention.

THE BRITISH ARMY.

CHAPTER I.

CÆSAR'S INVASION OF BRITAIN—AS TO THE PLACE OF EMBARKATION
AND OF LANDING—THE NATIVES ATTACK HIM, BUT ARE DEFEATED
—HE RETURNS TO GAUL.

"There is a sound of armies on the sea,
Northward the eagle's mighty wings are spread;
O'er conquered Gaul he wildly rushes free,
Gloats o'er the dying, and devours the dead.
Victorious legions, by the Cæsar led,
Cleave the rough wave to Britain's hostile shore;
With bloody strife the furrowed sands are red,
The white cliffs echo back the battle's roar."

On an August morning, fifty-five years before the Christian era, a fleet bearing the infantry of two Roman legions, under the command of Caius Julius Cæsar, appeared off the coast of Britain, and anchored under the cliffs of Kent. Roman Invasion.

The object of the expedition was to explore the island,⁽¹⁾ with a view to future conquest, for Cæsar was not prepared to remain long in Britain, the season of

(1) "*Magna sibi usui fore arbitrabatur, si modo insulam adisset et genus hominum perspexisset, loca, portus, aditus cognovisset.*" (*Bel. Gal.*, iv. 20, edit. Long.)

the year was advanced,⁽¹⁾ and the troops were ordered to leave their baggage behind.⁽²⁾

His immediate intention was, of course, to effect a landing on the coast. The locality where he disembarked, and also where he embarked, has always been a question, and a fertile subject of controversy. The fact of the arrival of the Romans is an important epoch, being the introduction of Britain to the page of history; the spot where they landed is now a matter of no historical importance, but the question has lately been resuscitated, and has acquired a great amount of public interest. Learned professors and profound antiquaries have thrown themselves vigorously into the contest, and now an Emperor is in the field, and has brought to the subject the aid of all the resources at his command, which he has applied to the purpose with all his characteristic sagacity.⁽³⁾ Uncertainty and mystery ever awaken the desire to lift the veil of obscurity, as well as that natural and proper curiosity to realise events on the spot where they actually occurred.

As a preliminary, it will be well to refresh our memories with a brief consideration of the position of affairs on the other side of the water, which enabled Cæsar to turn his attention to Britain.

In the year of Rome 695, Julius Cæsar had taken

(1) "Exigua parte ætatis reliqua." (*Bel. Gal.*, iv. 20.)

(2) "Sine impedimentis legiones transportaverat." (*Ibid.*, 30.)

(3) It will be no diminution of the interest attached to this question, for Englishmen to be informed that the last literary correspondence of the late lamented and accomplished Prince Consort was in connection with the subject of Cæsar's landing in Britain, carried on with His Majesty the Emperor of the French.

possession, as prætor or governor, of the province of Gaul, then comprising the north of Italy (*Gallia Cisalpina*), with part of *Illyricum*, and the south of France (*Gallia Transalpina*). In the course of four successive years, he had extended the limits of his province as far as the Rhine eastward and northward, and the ocean on the west. But the ambition of the mighty conqueror was insatiable. The Roman eagles had already been displayed in almost every country of continental Europe, and the Roman name was terrible in almost every part of the world. He now formed the daring project of crossing the sea and invading Britain, the largest known island, and considered so remote as to be deemed, in popular belief, beyond the limits of the world; a land of which strange and marvellous tales were current, and which was said to produce gold and silver and pearls.⁽¹⁾ A few Greek authors had given some imperfect details of it, and the trading Gauls were acquainted with the south and south-west coasts, but beyond that Britain was essentially a land unknown to Europe. The ostensible pretext for the invasion, was to take vengeance on the Britons for assistance rendered by them to the Gauls in their struggles to cast off the Roman yoke.⁽²⁾ Cæsar's real reason, no doubt, was to extend his conquests further, and to secure to himself the splendour of another triumph, with noble captives

(1) "Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla. Gignit et oceanus margaritas." (Tacitus, *Vit. Agric.*, 12.)

(2) "In Britanniam proficisci contendit, quod omnibus fere Gallicis bellis hostibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia intelligebat." (*Bel. Gal.*, iv. 20.)

of the unknown island led in chains by his car. He had views of policy too in finding a pretext for adding to the number of his legions, and promoting their efficiency by constant service.

The invasion having been resolved upon, the first thing to be done was to gain information respecting the coasts of the island, and the amount of resistance likely to be offered. Cæsar found that the Gauls generally knew nothing of Britain; a remark, singularly enough, as true of the present time as of the past. The traders (*mercatores*), the only persons who visited the island, must have possessed a considerable amount of information. He summoned them to his presence, but he could gain nothing from them. Naturally enough, they wished to confine the trade to themselves; they were, as was indeed their interest, on friendly terms with the natives, and felt little affection towards the Roman conquerors.

Cæsar was not to be foiled, he determined on dispatching one of his own officers to survey the coast. Caius Volusenus was selected for the purpose. He started on his errand in a fast war-galley.⁽¹⁾

Meanwhile, Cæsar moved with all his forces into the country of the Morini, "because the passage from thence to Britain was the shortest."⁽²⁾ The geographical position then of the Morini is so far

(1) "*Navi longa.*"—Volusenus is mentioned before as a tribune, and a man of great judgment and bravery. (ii. 5.)

(2) "*Ipse cum omnibus copiis in Morinos proficiscitur, quod inde erat brevissimus in Britanniam trajectus. Huc naves undique ex finitimis regionibus et, quam superiore æstate ad Veneticum bellum effecerat, classem jubet convenire.*" (iv. 21.)

indicated. They occupied the range of coast from Calais to Boulogne, because the opposite lands approach one another nearest in that limit; how much farther they extended north and south has not been accurately defined. Virgil calls them The Morini.

"Extremique hominum Morini."—*Æneid*, viii. 727.

Another ancient writer, in speaking of Richborough, describes it as looking not towards the Morini, but towards the Menapii and Batavi,⁽¹⁾ which would lead us to believe that the Morini were not in possession north of Calais. The Ambiani, the people adjoining them on the south, were on the Somme; and as their territory seems to have extended to the sea, it is a fair conclusion that they peopled all the lower basin of that river.⁽²⁾

"Hither," in the words of the *Commentaries*, Cæsar collected ships from all parts, and ordered the war-fleet, which had been employed against the Veneti in the preceding summer, to assemble. That is evidently in the land of the Morini, whence the shortest passage lay. In the meanwhile, the design of the invasion becoming known, the *mercatores* lost no time in informing their friends across the Channel of it; deputations arrived from many of the states of Britain, who undertook to send over hostages, and to submit to Roman dominion. Cæsar received

(1) "Rutubi Portus, unde, haud procul a Morinis in austro positos, Menapos Batavosque prospectant." (*Æthicus*, cited in *Monum. Hist. Brit.*, p. 19.)

(2) *Vide* Note to Long's *Cæsar*, p. 250.

them graciously, encouraged them to adhere to that resolution, and sent them home, accompanied with a Gallic partisan of his, Commius, whom he had made king of the Atrebates, on whose fidelity he thought he could rely; and who, being a man of great authority, was considered a fit person to undertake the commission of persuading the Britons into a reliance on the Roman people, and of announcing the early arrival of their general.

Volusenus returned on the fifth day. He had not dared to land for fear of the natives, but he made the best survey he could under the circumstances. We are not told what he reported; but as he returned so speedily, and his information was subsequently acted upon, he had evidently discovered what he considered a suitable landing-place.

While Cæsar was staying in these parts—*i.e.*, on the sea-coast of the country of the Morini—making his naval preparations, envoys came to him from a great portion of the Morini, to make excuses for their former behaviour, and to promise obedience for the future. Cæsar had ravaged part of their country the year before, and now he was among them with all his force. These Morini gave him hostages, and were acknowledged as friends. Cæsar considered this a fortunate occurrence, as he did not wish to leave an enemy in his rear. (iv. 22.) Before setting sail, he ordered that the portion of the army which was not designed for the British expedition should be led against the Menapii and those districts of the Morini who had not tendered allegiance, and a sufficient force

was to remain to protect the port from which he was about to sail.

Cæsar had pressed and collected about eighty *onerariæ*, ships of burden, merchantmen, heavy, deep, and wide-sailing vessels, which he estimated would supply stowage sufficient for two legions; he had also a few war-galleys (*naves longæ*), long, sharp vessels, adapted for speed, propelled by oars, and consequently unable to supply much accommodation. On board these he embarked the staff of the army. He had, in addition, eighteen other *onerariæ* assembled in another port, eight miles distant, which were to join him as soon as the wind admitted. These he designed for the cavalry. Cæsar gives no name to either of the ports; the latter he speaks of as "*ulterior portus*" or "*superior portus*," by which he means that it was farther to the north than the former.

Cæsar's Pre-
rations.

Everything having been finally arranged, and a fine night and a favourable wind presenting themselves, he got under weigh, at the beginning of the third watch—that would be soon after midnight—and, in order to avoid any further delay, he ordered the cavalry to ride over to the other port, to embark there, and to follow him without loss of time.⁽¹⁾ The wind, which was fair for the opposite coast, but unfavourable for vessels coming south, must have blown from the south or south-west.

(1) "His constitutis rebus, nactus idoneam ad navigandum tempestatem, tertia fere vigilia solvit, equitesque in ulteriorem portum progredi, et naves conscendere, et se sequi jussit." (iv. 23.)

The number of men in a legion varied at different times, but an approximate calculation may be formed of the force Cæsar carried over with him. Of the eighty transports, twelve were subsequently destroyed by a storm, which would reduce the number to sixty-eight.⁽¹⁾ In these the whole army was re-embarked on the return of the expedition to Gaul. The casualties had been trifling; Cæsar admits that a few had been killed.⁽²⁾ Two of these vessels were drifted beyond the port for which they were bound, and it is incidentally mentioned that they had collectively a freight of about 300 men. The transports were probably of different sizes, but supposing each carried 150 men, the total amount would be 10,200. These two unlucky transports might possibly have been thrown out of their course from being the most heavily laden, and if so, the entire division would not have exceeded 8,400 men.⁽³⁾ In addition there were the crews on board the war galleys, slingers, and machinists.⁽⁴⁾ Their number however, difficult to estimate, was probably inconsiderable. With respect to the strength of cavalry embarked in the eighteen transports (300 horses were usually attached to each legion), there is no computing what number might have been selected for the special service; and there is the less need to

(¹) "xii navibus amissis." (iv. 31.)

(²) "Paucis interfectis." (iv. 32.)

(³) Mr. Lewin, *Invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar*, p. 28.—Mr. Airy (the late Astronomer Royal) and Mr. Long estimate the force of the two legions at about 8,000 men.—The Emperor Napoleon says, "12,000 legionaries and 450 horses," without any data on which the assertion is made.

(⁴) iv. 25.

speculate on this point, as they never reached their destination.

To resume the narrative: Cæsar got under weigh about the beginning of the third watch, he arrived off the coast of Britain with the fastest of his ships at the beginning of the fourth hour, and there he beheld all the eminences thronged with armed men. "The nature of the ground was such," says he, "that the sea was closely bounded by mountains so steep, that a missile could be hurled from the upper parts upon the shore." He clearly means that the cliffs rose so precipitously from the sea-side, that anything dropped from the top would fall upon the beach at their foot.⁽¹⁾ This description would apply to the whole line of cliffs ranging from Sandgate and round the South Foreland to Sandown. Cæsar saw no place fit for landing here, but he cast anchor, and waited till the ninth hour for the remainder of the expeditionary force. During the interval he assembled the commanding officers, and told them what he had learnt from Volusenus (having no doubt kept it secret until then), and warned them, as the basis of military operations generally, and of naval affairs particularly, that as they had to move with rapidity, and on an unstable surface, everything must be done with strict regard to the signal and the time. Having dismissed them, and finding the *wind*

(1) "Cujus loci hæc erat natura: atque ita montibus angustis mare continebatur, uti ex locis superioribus in litus telum adigi posset." (iv. 23.)—Cicero, writing to Atticus the next year, gives the same description, which he probably had from the letters of his brother Quintus, one of Cæsar's lieutenants. "Constat enim aditus insulæ esse munitos mirificis mollibus." (*Ad Att.*, iv. 16.)

and tide favourable,⁽¹⁾ the signal was displayed, the anchors were weighed, and he was carried about seven miles along the coast, and there he found a landing-place on an open, flat shore.

Did he drift to the east or to the west? It is clearly a question to be decided by the direction of the tide; and as the phenomena of nature are unchangeable, it is as easy to calculate the state of the tide at any particular date two thousand years ago as it is at the present time. The difficulty, therefore, does not lie here, but in the precision required to fix the day and hour at which this memorable weighing of anchors took place.

Almost every place on the French coast, facing the southern extremity of Albion, with any pretension to the title of a port, has been suggested as the starting point of Cæsar's expedition. In the selection of the exact locality, there are certain indispensable conditions which must be fulfilled.

1. It must be about thirty Roman miles ($27\frac{1}{2}$ miles English) from the opposite coast. We may, however, safely allow a latitude in interpreting the distance. It is not apparent what means the ancients possessed of arriving at accuracy in marine mensuration; the roundness of the number, "*millium passuum xxx*," is somewhat suspicious, seeming to indicate that Cæsar did not profess to give a very accurate statement.

2. The port must have been large enough to have sheltered more than 800 vessels (the number in the

(1) "Ventum et æstum uno tempore nactus secundum." (iv. 23.)

second invasion), and to have embarked the infantry of two legions at one tide.

3. There must be another port eight miles to the north of it.

The Emperor and Mr. Lewin, amongst others, attempt to prove—and they certainly make out a strong case—that none of the ports north of Boulogne supplies these requirements, and none other than Boulogne could form the basis of the expedition, and that Ambleteuse is the *ulterior portus*; a theory of which it is easy to imagine His Majesty's wishes would gladly find a confirmation from the coincidences of events—presenting a strange analogy—in the history of Napoleon I. The Imperial investigation does not throw any additional light on this part of the subject; it is little more than a reiteration of the old arguments in favour of Boulogne; but the results of the Emperor's researches as to the topography of Cæsar's battle-fields, sieges, and expeditions are invaluable additions to literature.⁽¹⁾

In the following year Cæsar came again to this island with a large fleet. All the ships were ordered to assemble at Portus Itius, “from which port he had ascertained that the passage to Britain was most convenient (*commodissimum*)—a distance of about thirty

(¹) In one instance the site of a military movement is accurately reported by the Emperor, where an inaccurate account appears in Mr. Merivale's *History*, where we should least have expected it. It is clear that the battle with the Usipetes and the Tencteri was fought in the neighbourhood of Cleves, in the angle formed by the Rhine and the Meuse, and also that Cæsar constructed his celebrated bridge at Bonn, and not at Cologne or Coblenz.—Compare *Hist. de Jules César*, II., liv. iii., ch. vii., and Merivale's *History of the Romans*, I., ch. x.

miles from the continent." (v. 2.) This is the first time in this expedition that Cæsar gives a local name. These words have been interpreted in two ways: to prove that he did not sail from the Itius on his first voyage; and to prove that he did. "The words just quoted may mean," says Mr. Long, "that Cæsar, after his first voyage, had ascertained in some way, which he does not mention, that the Itius was the best place to sail from, and better than the other place from which he had sailed; or they may mean, and this meaning is the more conformable to the plain sense of the (Latin) original, that he had, by his first voyage, found out that this was the best place to sail from, being about thirty Roman miles from Britain. Thus we learn how he knew that it was the best port for his purpose, without being left to conjecture, according to the other interpretation, by what means, unknown to us, he had found out a better line of transit than that which he had tried. Fortune had befriended his former voyage; and there was no reason to change his place of embarkation, particularly as he intended to land, and did land, at the place where he had landed before. Besides this, when he speaks (v. 8) of his landing-place on the second voyage, he says, '*qua optimum esse egressum superiore æstate cognoverat*;' the same form of expression that he uses in speaking of the place of embarkation (v. 2), except that he does not there use the words '*superiore æstate*.' On the whole, the fairer conclusion is that he sailed from Portus Itius on the first voyage." (1)

(1) Long's *Cæsar*, p. 252, Note.

If Portus Itius and Gesoriacum be synonymous,⁽¹⁾ *cadit argumentum*, for Gesoriacum was certainly the ancient name of Boulogne. We do not, however, learn their identity from any of the ancient authors. From Strabo we may gather the reverse. His words are:—"To those sailing from the neighbourhood of the Rhine, the passage is not from the mouths of that river, but from the Morini, who border on the Menapii, among whom also is [situated] Itium, which the deified Cæsar used as his naval station, when he passed over to the island,"⁽²⁾ as though he would say, the usual place in his time was Portus Morinus, which was undoubtedly Boulogne; but there was also in the country of the Morini another Itium (καὶ τὸ Ἰτιον) from which Cæsar sailed, and not from that which afterwards became the ordinary port of passage. Ptolemy, too, distinguishes between Gesoriacum and Itium.⁽³⁾ There can scarcely be a doubt, but that the present Cape Grisnez was the Itian promontory, and if so, the port which lay beneath it must have been the Itian port. When he mentions the Itian promontory, and immediately afterwards Gesoriacum, we might have expected him to call the latter the

(1) The MSS. of Cæsar read Itius, those of Ptolemy, Ἰκιον. The form Iccius is a corruption of later writers. Gesoriacum is also spelt Gessoriacum by some authors.

(2) Τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον τόπων ἀναγομένοις οὐκ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐκβολῶν ὃ πλους ἴστιν, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμορούντων τοῖς Μεναπίοις Μορινῶν, παρ' οἷς ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Ἰτιον, ὃ ἐχρήσατο ναυσταθμῷ Καίσαρ ὁ Θεός, διαίρων εἰς τὴν νῆσον. (iv. 5.)

(3) Μετὰ τὰς τοῦ Σηκοάνα ποταμον [the Seine] ἐκβολὰς Φρούδιος ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαὶ Ἰκιον ακρον. (ii. 9.)—There is a question about the river Phrudis. See Dr. Guest's remarks thereon in *Archæol. Journ.*, No. 83, p. 227; also Walckenaer, *Géographie des Gaules*, ii. 268.

Itian port, if it ever really bore that name; and it certainly is strange, if we assume the identity of the two places, that Boulogne is never called by that name, notwithstanding the frequent references made to Gesoriacum in classical history.⁽¹⁾ On the other hand, Mr. Lewin notices the fact that the name (or one very like it) of Itius, Icius, or Iccius, may still be traced in the village of Isques, at Pont de Briques, in the immediate vicinity of Boulogne, and that the Liane, now a scanty stream, was stated to have been once much wider, and the bridge to have stood at the head of the estuary.⁽²⁾

The nearest ports to Cape Grisnez are Ambleteuse on one side, and Wissant on the other. Both are equi-distant from the British coast, and each has a more northerly harbour within the assigned limit. Wissant is about eight miles north of Ambleteuse, and Sangatte about the same distance from Wissant. The localities of the expedition must be argued on hypothesis rather than evidence, for Cæsar, writing as he did with all the terseness of a soldier who jotted down in the nightly camp the events of the day as they had just occurred, is, to all appearances, wilfully obscure; and the conviction forces itself that in the compilation of the *Commentaries* everything unfavourable to the reputation of the Roman arms was suppressed. We cannot read them without being sensible that there is something wanting, and that

(¹) Dr. Guest on *Julius Cæsar's Invasion of Britain* (*Archæol. Journ.*, No. 83, p. 226).

(²) *Invasion of Britain*, p. 23.—This name, however, is derived probably from the Celtic *Isc*, signifying water.

that which was omitted was not to the credit of the commander. Moreover, the absence of landmarks, the removal of those that existed, and the changes which nineteen centuries have produced in the configuration of coasts, the state of harbours, the courses of rivers, the extent of estuaries, and the condition of valleys descending to the sea, make it a difficult, if not a hopeless task, to decide with certainty on the exact place; and it is only through the broken links of a chain of circumstantial evidence that we can arrive at any conclusion. "It appears," says Napoleon III., "that it is not more than a century and a half ago that the natural basin of Boulogne has been partly silted up, and, according to tradition and geological researches, the coast projected more than two kilomètres beyond its present range, forming two moles between which the high tides flowed up in the valley of the Liane for four kilomètres over the land." (1)

Ambleteuse is a small port, and does not impress the belief that it ever was extensive; but many distinguished writers have maintained that Wissant was the place of embarkation. That, however, is no argument, as authorities are abundant for all the localities, and the preponderance in point of numbers is strongly in favour of Boulogne. Du Cange cites the testimonies of William of Poitiers and William of Jumièges as making strongly in favour of Wissant. The latter of these writers tells us that the young prince, the brother of the Confessor, who was murdered soon after his landing in England, sailed from

(1) *Hist. de Jules César*, ii. 170.

Witsand; while the other tells us that he sailed from Portus Icius.⁽¹⁾ Whence did this Norman monk get this Roman name?

From the heights above Wissant, or Witsand (as it is generally called in mediæval writings, on account of the white sand with which it is surrounded, and not from any far-fetched similarity to the word Itius), the whole of the English coast from Sandgate to the South Foreland can be seen.

The objections raised against Wissant are—

1st. That it is no port at all.⁽²⁾

2nd. That there are no Roman remains there.

3rd. That Sangatte, the next port northwards, is only six miles distant; and Calais, the next, is thirteen.

4th. That it is only about twenty miles across to Britain.

Now, 1st, Wissant was a popular place of embarkation in the Middle Ages, and was, doubtless, resorted to because it was convenient, in times when the practice of hauling up the vessels on the beach, as the Romans commonly did, was no longer in vogue.

As early as the eleventh century, a French chronicler informs us that the Abbot of St. Riquier, in

(1) XXVIII^{me} Dissertation de Du Cange *Sur l'Histoire de S. Louis*.—A curious instance of petty-sergeantry is mentioned by Madox: "In the twentieth year of King Henry VI. John Baker held certain lands in Kent of the king *in capite*, by the service of holding the king's head in the ship between Dover and Whitsand, when the king went over the sea there." (*Baron.*, b. iii., c. v., p. 245.)

(2) "Wissant is no port at all, but only a sandy beach, four miles long, and the radius of curvature five and a-half miles." (Lewin, p. 14.)

Ponthieu, proceeding, in the year 1068, to *the port* of Wissant, to embark for England, found there more than one hundred monks, of every order, with a crowd of soldiers and merchants, all, like himself, about to cross the Channel.⁽¹⁾

If Wissant were a port of those capabilities in the eleventh century, we may reasonably infer that its dimensions were much larger one thousand years before, since the same causes were in existence, and the same operations in effect, which in a less time than that have completely choked up the entrance. Within the last few years, walls of houses have been excavated at the depth of twelve feet.

It is worth noting, that a curious document, containing the private disbursements of Queen Eleanor, wife of Edward I., in the ninth year of his reign (1281), shows an item occasioned by her seneschal being detained seven days at Wissant before he could cross. There must have been ample hostelry accommodation there. "*Pour le despens le Seneschal alant en Engleterre, demorant par xxviii jours dont il demor', vij jours a Wissant avant quil poust passer.*"⁽²⁾

Dr. Guest gives it as his opinion, after a careful personal investigation, that between Cape Grisnez and Wissant a port formerly existed, amply large enough to contain 800 ships, such as Cæsar collected. In the offing was a roadstead, fairly sheltered, and containing good anchoring ground; and immediately in front was Dover. Cæsar might well

(1) Chron. S. Richarii, in *Recueil des Historiens de France*, xi. 133.

(2) *Liberate Roll*, Membr. 8. (*Vide Notes and Queries*, 3rd S. x. 349.)

consider the transit from thence to Britain "extremely convenient."⁽¹⁾ The learned Doctor gives the process by which he arrived at this conclusion. He remarks, that on the eastern coast of the sea, which divides England from the Continent, there seems to be a tendency, owing to the action of the tides, to deposit a line of sand-hills across the mouth of any bay which deeply indents the land. The whole space between the sand-hills, or downs, as they are called, and the upland, was originally, at high water, a lake; and at low water a collection of mud-banks, through which the rivers from the interior worked their way, escaping into the sea through gaps in the line of sand-hills. A belt of sand-hills stretched across the bay, which, no doubt, once existed between the Capes Grisnez and Blancnez. The sand-downs still rise from fifty to sixty and seventy feet in height, and stretch from a point east of Grisnez to Wissant, a little to the west of Blancnez. Between these downs and the upland is now a flat sandy plain, some two or three miles long, and varying from a quarter to half a mile in breadth, and which was, at one time, what is called "a backwater." When, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the port of Wissant first began to play a part in history, it seems probable that a large portion of the ancient backwater was already silted up, and that the mediæval port was where the Rieu d'Herlan, one of the three outlets for the waters which cross the plain, now enters the sea.

2. There are no Roman remains there, with the

(¹) *Archæol. Journ.*, No. 83, p. 224.

exception of a limited earthwork, which bears the name of Cæsar's Camp, but about which it is very doubtful whether there be anything Roman except its name. Dr. Guest states that he carefully explored the country round about during three days, but found nothing in the neighbourhood which he could venture to call Roman. This absence of Roman remains will, however, be used by-and-by to complete the argument.

3. An admeasurement from the south side of the bay, where the ancient *embouchure* may have been, would bring the port to about eight miles of Sangatte.

4. It was when preparing for his second expedition to Britain that Cæsar informs us that his passage across on the former occasion was thirty miles. It is fair, therefore, to conclude, as D'Anville pointed out, that he reckoned from the point of departure to the place of landing. If he disembarked at Romney Marsh, the distance would be about thirty Roman miles from "*the continent*," from land to land; if, however, he landed at Walmer, he could scarcely assert that, as for five or six miles he would be running alongside the British coast.

That Gesoriacum, or Boulogne, was the favoured port during the Roman *occupation* of Britain is an undeniable fact.⁽¹⁾ The pharos erected there⁽²⁾—though now lost sight of—corresponding with two

(1) *Jules César*, II., l. iii., ch. vii., p. 167.—Mr. Lewin, p. 19.

(2) It was undermined and overthrown by the sea in July, 1644, so that not a vestige of it now remains; a lighthouse was subsequently

similar ones on the heights of Dover (one of which still survives), and the line of road, as given in the Itinerary of Antoninus, leading from Tarvenna (*Therouenne*) and terminating at Boulogne, testify its importance.⁽¹⁾ If, then, Wissant was Cæsar's point of departure and return, what was the cause of its being speedily abandoned as such by his successors? Dr. Guest assigns a very sufficient reason for it:—

“During the Anglo-Saxon period—that is, from

erected on its site. Montfaucon gives a description of it (*Mems. de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, vi. 576), and observes that it was probably the tower described by Suetonius, as having been built by Caligula, when he brought his army to the sea-side, in order to show them Britain, and made them gather up shells from the shore to carry with them, as the spoils of the British sea. “As a mark of his victory,” says the historian, “he erected a very high tower, whence, as from a pharos, fires were nightly displayed to direct the courses of ships.” (Suet., *Calig.*, c. xlvi.) The original appellation of this tower was *TURRIS ARDENS*, afterwards corrupted to *Turris Ordans*, or *ORDENSIS*, and at length corrupted by the *Boullonnais* to *LA TOUR D'ORDRE*. The English called it *THE OLDE MAN*, the reason for which does not appear. It is represented in the Cowdray picture of the Siege of Boulogne, engraved for the Society of Antiquaries. It surrendered, after three days, to Henry VIII. (*Vide Archæologia*, iii. 259.) Its position will be seen in the ancient map in the Cottonian collection, a copy of which is given in Mr. Lewin's *Invasion*, p. 20.

(1) “Or, en admettant qu'il y ait eu déjà sous Auguste une route qui réunissait Boulogne à Bonn, on comprend l'expression de Florus qui explique que Drusus améliora cette route en faisant construire des ponts sur les nombreux cours d'eau qu'elle traversait, *Bonnam et Gesoriacum pontibus junxit*.” (Florus, iv. 7.) Notes to *Jules César*, t. II., l. iii., ch. vii., p. 167.—All the best editions give *Gesoniam* (*Geldubam*), not *Gesoriacum*. The historian is speaking of the Rhine. “Nam per Rheni quidem ripam quinquaginta amplius castella direxit Bonnam et Gesoniam,” &c. It is not easy to comprehend that two points so remote as Bonn and Boulogne should be bracketed together, in consequence of Cæsar having bridged over all the watercourses between the two. The *CODEX BAMBURGENSIS* (Florus, edit. Jahn, Leipzig, 1852) gives the reading, “*Borman et Cæsoriacum pontibus*,” &c.

the sixth to the ninth century—Cevanta-wic⁽¹⁾, now Etaples, was the chief port of communication; from the tenth to the fifteenth century, Wissant enjoyed this honour, and Calais, in its turn, succeeded Wissant. Wissant seems to have yielded to Calais, because, early in the fifteenth century, its port was destroyed by one of those sand-storms which are so frequent on the opposite coast, and with which all who have been resident there for any length of time must be familiar. Cevanta-wic fell a prey to the Northmen in the latter part of the ninth century; and Wissant may have taken its place, owing, as the Abbé Haigneré suggests (*Étude sur le Portus Itius*, p. 28), to the growing importance of the Flemish towns in the neighbourhood, and their increasing commerce with England. The motives which induced our ancestors to abandon Gesoriacum (*Boulogne*) for Cevanta-wic are not easy to discover; but the reasons which led the Romans to prefer Gesoriacum to the Portus Icius are, I think, sufficiently obvious.

"No one can explore the neighbourhood of Wissant without being struck with its extreme sterility. Du Cange⁽²⁾ has collected all the learning relative to Wissant, and, in spite of himself, has shown the poverty of the place and the slenderness of its resources. The Boulognese antiquaries dwell with much triumph on these testimonies to the poverty of the rival port; but

(¹) "Quantavic, or Quantawich, was the ancient name of S. Josse-sur-Mer, or Etaples. It was sacked in 842.—*An. Bertinian. Bouquet*, vii. 61." (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 345.)

(²) Dissertation xxviii., appended to the *Hist. de St. Louis*.

it is forgotten that these testimonies afford a sufficient answer to the question put forward with so much confidence—viz., how came the Romans to make Boulogne their port of transit during their occupation of Britain, if Wissant were the *Portus Icius*? Wissant, or rather the port adjacent to Wissant, may have answered Cæsar's purpose, when he had hundreds of ships to supply the wants of his commissariat; but when a port was to be provided to meet the ordinary purposes of traffic, it was necessary to select one that possessed local resources. The neighbourhood of Boulogne was, comparatively speaking, fertile, and, as its harbour was not inferior to that of Wissant, the Romans selected it for their port, notwithstanding the greater length of the voyage." This supplies a reason why no Roman remains have been discovered there.

The writers who are quoted as describing Gesoriacum as *the* port of the Morini, were not born in Cæsar's time. Pomponius Mela⁽¹⁾ flourished about A.D. 50; Pliny died A.D. 79;⁽²⁾ Florus⁽³⁾ flourished about A.D. 115; and Ptolemy about A.D. 140-60.⁽⁴⁾

The theory of Mr. Airy, the Astronomer Royal, that the voyage lay between the estuary of the Somme and Pevensey,⁽⁵⁾ has been so completely

(1) "Ultimos Gallicarum gentium Morinos, nec portu quem Gesoriacum vocant quicquam notius habet." (iii. 2.)

(2) "Hæc [Britain] abest a Gessoriaci Morinorum gentis litore proximo trajectu quinquaginta M." (iv. 30.)

(3) "Quum tertia vigilia Morino solvisset e portu minus quam medio die insulam ingressus est." (iii. 10.)

(4) "Μορινῶν Γησσοριακὸν ἐκίνειον." (ii. 9, 3.)

(5) *Archæologia*, xxxiv. 231.

answered by Mr. Lewin, ⁽¹⁾ that it requires but a passing notice. Roman knowledge of navigation was extremely limited, and, therefore, that Cæsar should have attempted a passage of sixty statute miles with clumsy, slow-sailing, heavily-laden transports, with several hundreds of horses on board, the safe arrival of which he considered of great importance—when all the information he possessed of the opposite coast was derived from the rapid and imperfect survey of Volusenus, and in the teeth of the fact which he had gleaned that the shortest transit lay in the country of the Morini—is a striking improbability.

Cæsar, with his squadron of war galleys, consumed ten hours in the passage across, being twenty miles, from Gaul to the place where he brought to (assuming that he crossed at the nearest point), that is, at the rate of two miles an hour; on the same calculation, according to Mr. Airy's theory, Volusenus must have been thirty hours before he arrived at his ground, and the same time in returning. How much, or rather how little, time would that officer have had at his disposal for rowing along the coast and sounding, a work which he could not well perform at night, so as to return on the fifth day?

The learned Professor, relying on the meaning he attaches to the verb *proficiscitur*, maintains that Cæsar did not enter the territory of the Morini, that he "set out" for it, but that there is no proof that he ever arrived there. Cæsar tells us, that "he marched out to the Morini with all his forces, because from

⁽¹⁾ *Replies to the Remarks of the Astronomer Royal.*

thence was the shortest passage into Britain."⁽¹⁾ Can there be any doubt as to his intention? As he does not tell us to the contrary, we may assume that he reached his destination and sailed thence. His was not the character to give up any undertaking actually commenced. He does not descend into details, but he supplies all the leading events, and if he had seen cause to alter his course, a writer so accurate as he would have indicated it. Mr. Airy seems ingeniously making out a case which can never be substantiated.

Again, the Astronomer Royal takes exception at the construction of the sentence—"Quo ex portu commodissimum in Britanniam transjectum esse cognoverat circiter millium passuum xxx à continenti." (*Bel. Gal.*, v. 2.)

He is of opinion that the sentence originally ended at *cognoverat*, and that the subsequent words are an interlineation. There is no MS. authority for that assertion; but if they are, it would appear needless to discuss the interpretation which the Astronomer Royal attributes to them—viz., that they refer to a general observation made by Cæsar as to the distance from coast to coast, and not to the passage which he undertook. The sentence in question has reference to the time when Cæsar was about to cross the British Channel for the third time; and surely he must then

(¹) "Ipse cum omnibus copiis in Morinos proficiscitur, quod inde erat brevissimus in Britanniam trajectus. (iv. 21.) "In Morinos," i.e., the country, not the people.—So Cicero, in his *Orations against Verres*, always calls the Sicilian town "Leontini," not "Leontium."

have learnt that the nearest point from coast to coast was not thirty miles, but barely twenty. ⁽¹⁾

Assuming, then, that Cape Grisnez was the Itium, and that the port nearest to it was the place of embarkation, there are two important questions which must be decided before a conclusion can be arrived at as to the place of *debarkation*. As Cæsar's progress to the east or west depended on the state of the tide, the hour of the day and the day of the month on which he arrived must be ascertained in order to form a calculation.

There is no doubt as to the year; it is universally admitted to have been B.C. 55, and from internal evidence there is almost as little doubt as to the month. The expedition was organised when "little of summer remained," and allusions are made, on Cæsar's arrival, to the harvest as still continuing, but

⁽¹⁾ Since these pages were written, a *brochure* has appeared, containing an entirely new and original view of the transaction—*Julius Cæsar; did he cross the Channel?* By the Rev. Scott F. Surtees. The author's theory is, that Cæsar sailed, not as commonly supposed, across the British Channel from some point between Boulogne and Calais, to some point between Hythe and Deal, but over the high seas, from the mouth of the Rhine; and that, in his first expedition, he landed at Cromer in Norfolk; and in the second, at Brancaster, in Norfolk. This would certainly not be the "*shortest*" and "*most convenient passage!*" In the Appendix, the author states that he reads "lxxx" instead of xxx miles, and attributes the difference to the error of the MSS. But he gives no authority for the assertion. In the same way it would be possible to prove that Cæsar landed at several places, for there are many parts of the English coast which fulfil the description of the landing-place given in the *Commentaries*. Then, how about the eighty Roman miles from the sea to the Thames? The Roman naval camp was evidently in Cantium. There are many other objections, equally obvious, if the ordinary text is to be adhered to.

drawing to its conclusion, "the grain had been reaped everywhere except in one place;"⁽¹⁾ and August is unquestionably the harvest month in Kent. Moreover, Cæsar was anxious to leave Britain before the equinox, which was approaching,⁽²⁾ and which the ancients reckoned to be the 24th of September; and it will be seen that he stayed in the island rather more than three weeks, so that there can be no doubt that he sailed from Britain in the month of August. Now as to the day. Cæsar writes, after the fourth day of his arrival in Britain, that the transports with the cavalry hove in sight, but were beaten off by stress of weather; and it happened on that same night to be full moon, which day makes the highest tides in the ocean; but the Romans, owing, perhaps, to the absence of tides in the Mediterranean, were not previously aware of that fact.⁽³⁾ This full moon, according to Dr. Halley, and others who have calculated it since his time,⁽⁴⁾ was on the night of the 30th of August, or, to speak strictly, at 3.0 a.m. in the morning of Thursday, the 31st of August. In common parlance, it was the night of Wednesday, certainly not that of Thursday.

Does the expression *post diem quartum* mean the fourth day exclusive, or the fourth day inclusive,

(1) "Omni ex reliquis partibus demesso frumento pars una erat reliqua." (iv. 32.)

(2) "Propinqua die æquinoclii." (iv. 36.)

(3) "Post diem quartum, quam est in Britanniam ventum, naves xviii, &c. Eadem nocte accidit, ut esset luna plena, qui dies maritimos æstus maximos in Oceano efficere consuevit; nostrisque id erat incognitum." (iv. 28, 29.)

(4) De Morgan's *Book of Almanacs*.

of the day of the full moon—viz., 30th of August? If the former, the arrival of Cæsar was on the 26th; if the latter, it was on the 27th of August.

The almost invariable practice of the Romans was to reckon *inclusively*. If there are, or appear to be, exceptions, they are so rare as to prove the rule. They had a very peculiar mode of reckoning. In marking the days of the month they reckoned backwards. The Calends are the first day of the month; Calendæ Januariæ is the first day of January; Pridie Calendarum, or Kalendas, is the 31st of December, or second of the Kalends of January; the day before that, or 30th of December, was III. Kal. Jan., that is, *ante diem tertium Kalendas*—i.e., die tertio ante Kalendas. IV. Kal., the 29th of December, and so on. "*Ante diem quartum, Kalendas Septemb.*," was 29th of August, so that August 29 and September 1 were both reckoned into the four days. A passage in one of Cicero's orations is conclusive on this point: "*Neque te illo die, neque postero vidi . . . post diem tertium veni.*" (*Philip.*, ii. 35.) So that we may reckon that Cæsar was off the coast of Britain on the 27th of August. ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ Unwittingly we follow the Roman mode of computation in saying "a tertian ague," which indicates that the paroxysms return every other day, and "quartan" every two days. In French a week is expressed by *huit jours*, and a fortnight by *une quinzaine*. His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon III. is of opinion that four whole days should be counted after the day of landing, and that as the storm took place on the evening of the 30th, the landing occurred on the 25th. In dealing, however, with this case our decision must be formed, not according to the modern mode of reckoning, but to the custom in classic times.

The Imperial biographer appends the following note:—"Mot à

Now, as to the hour of his arrival. Cæsar tells us that he got under weigh at the beginning of the third watch (*tertia fere vigilia solvit*, iv. 23); that he himself, with the first vessels, made the coast of Britain about the fourth hour (*ipse hora circiter diei quarta*); and he waited at anchor till the ninth hour

mot, cela veut dire que les navires portant la cavallerie mirent à la voile quatre jours après l'arrivée des Romains en Angleterre. La langue latine employait souvent le nombre ordinal au lieu du nombre cardinal. Ainsi l'historien Eutrope a dit: 'Carthage fut détruite 700 ans après avoir été fondée, *Carthago septingentesimo anno quam condita erat deleta est.*' Faut-il dans la phrase *post diem quartum* compter le jour même du débarquement?—Virgile dit, en parlant du dix-septième jour: '*Septima post decimam.*'—Cicéron se sert de l'expression *post sexennium*, pour dire dans six ans. Il est évident que Virgile compte sept jours après le dixième. Si le dixième était compris dans ce chiffre, l'expression *septima post decimam* signifierait simplement le sixième jour. De son côté, Cicéron entend, visiblement, les six ans comme un laps de temps qui doit s'écouler à partir du moment où il parle. Donc le *post diem quartum* de César doit se comprendre dans le sens de quatre jours révolus, sans compter le jour du débarquement." (II., l. iii., ch. vii.)—The cardinal and ordinal numbers mean the same thing. For what is the difference between "on the fourth day after his arrival" and "four days after?" What light does this remark of the Emperor's throw on the question of the mode of computing?

The passage His Majesty quotes from the *Georgics*, lib. i., does certainly mean the seventeenth day, and not the sixteenth, for it is taken directly from Hesiod, who specifies the seventeenth. But *septima post decimam* is only a poetic form of *decima septima*.

As to the phrase *ante* or *post diem quartum quam*, the simplest explanation is, to regard it as a confusion between two different expressions; and an idiomatic transposition—i.e., *post diem quartum quam*—is only *die quartâ post quam*. At the same time, *post* (or *ante*) does, as is not uncommon, double duty. It may be regarded either as an adverb or a preposition. It is, in fact, put once instead of twice. *Quam* the adverb, no doubt, originally was the fem. accus. of *qui* or *quis*; the full expression would be *post illam quam, quam* for *quâ*, by a sort of Greek attraction of relative to antecedent. This is the more easy and natural, because *quam* here includes its antecedent, *post quam* being a condensed expression for *post illam quâ*—after four days after that on which he had arrived.

for the remainder to come up (*ad horam nonam in anchoris expectavit*); then he weighed, and, with wind and tide in his favour, he proceeded about seven miles.

The Roman night (as well as the day) was always divided into twelve hours, each watch lasting three. But the length of the hours varied with the season; they would coincide, of course, at the equinoxes, when each *vigilia* would be actually three hours in length. On the 26th of August, B.C. 55, the night, in the latitude of London, was ten hours long; each computed hour would therefore be $1\frac{2}{3} = \frac{5}{3}$ = fifty minutes, instead of sixty. So, the first watch being set at seven, and each watch consisting of two and a half hours of our time, the third watch would begin in five hours—*i.e.*, after midnight, which we may take to be the meaning of *tertia fere vigilia*.⁽¹⁾ On the 27th of August, B.C. 55, the sun rose at 5.6 a.m., and set at 6.54 p.m. The Roman day, therefore, from sunrise to sunset, consisted of thirteen hours and forty-eight minutes of our time; so that each Roman hour, or twelfth part of the day, consisted of sixty-nine minutes of our time. Four Roman hours on that day were represented by four hours and thirty-six minutes of our time, so that Cæsar was under the high cliffs of Britain at 9.18 a.m., having consumed that time in the passage; four hours more will bring us to the completion of the eighth hour of the day, and the ninth hour of the Roman day

(1) So "*de medio potare die*" (Hor., *Sat.* i. 8.) is to have begun supping at noon.—See also Mr. Long's Note, p. 181.

would commence at 2.18 p.m., till which time Cæsar lay at anchor.

Having disposed of these important premises, now comes the culminating question—Which way was the tide running at 2.18 p.m. on the 27th of August, B.C. 55? In these days, we are so accustomed to rely on the precision of steam, that possibly we may not be able to realise to its full extent the importance of wind and tide to the ancient mariner. What report is Volusenus likely to have made to his general, as the result of his *reconnaissance*? In those days of uncertain navigation, we may assume that his instructions were to report on the *nearest* available landing-place. No military man, nor any one else, would contemplate for a moment landing a hostile army in the *cul-de-sac* of a port, which the vessels could enter only in a long line, with the risk of being surrounded, if they succeeded;⁽¹⁾ nor on the narrow ledge of beach, under beetling cliffs, under a deadly shower of missiles from above. No; he had to seek for the nearest “open and level shore;” and where would he find it? His report may have been to this effect:—“Proceeding across to the nearest point of land, of the two ports generally used by the merchants—*i.e.*, Dover and Folkestone—one will

(¹) Dover could not have been thought of as a landing-place. It is somewhat amusing for us English to be informed that “un *ancien chroniqueur, appelé Darell, raconte que Wilbred, roi de Kent, bâtit en 700 l’église de Saint Martin,*” &c. (*Jules César*, II. 157.) Is this taken from Camden?—“Darellus tells us out of Eadmer,” &c. (*Kent*, i. 249.) The English translator improves the name of the Kentish lawgiver Wihtrad into Wilbred.

ice of about eight miles." We have no reason to suppose that Volusenus could calculate the set of the tide, nor could he possibly conjecture from which quarter the wind might blow; and it was next to impossible that the expedition could proceed with success against it, especially as the object would be the rapidity of movement to outstrip the enemy, who were certain to be on the look-out, and to disembark a sufficient force before he could come up. It might, therefore, have been considered desirable to have secured two landing-places, one on the east, the other on the west. Volusenus is not named as accompanying the expedition, which is somewhat remarkable. We might almost infer that he did not, for Caesar, at the council of war, tells his officers what he had learnt from Volusenus. Caesar evidently knew the right point to steer; and with two such landing-places as Dover and Folkestone, it would have been almost impossible for him to commit an error. The spring tides, it is well known, occur twice in the twenty-four hours, and each time about twenty-five

tides recur in the same order of succession. The tables of the tides are usually calculated for the new and full moons only. However, there are slight disturbing influences which, in some degree, vary the general rule; there are therefore published annually, under the direction of the Admiralty, tables of the time of high water at the principal places on the coast of England and Ireland for any day in the year. On reference to these tables, it will be seen that the "Establishment" of Dover—*i.e.*, time of high water there, immediately after a new or full moon, is at 11.12 a.m., which, therefore, in the present instance, would be the morning tide on August 31, as it is agreed that the full moon occurred at 3.0 a.m. on that day of B.C. 55. The time of high water, however, is calculated in the Admiralty Tables on the basis that the moon's transit was at twelve o'clock at midnight, whereas the full moon with which we have to deal was at 3.0 a.m. on that day; and this introduces a disturbing element. We shall, therefore, attain greater accuracy if we take the actual time of high water at Dover on the fourth day before some full moon which concurred as nearly as possible with that one on August 31, B.C. 55—*viz.*, at 3.0 a.m. By the Tide Tables for the year 1859, the moon was full on December 10, at 3.13 a.m., which, therefore, differs by thirteen minutes only from the time of full moon on August 31, B.C. 55. Thus, August 27, B.C. 55, the day of Cæsar's arrival, will correspond with December 6, 1859; and August 31, B.C. 55, with December 10, 1859. Now, high water at Dover on

December 6, 1859, was at 7.31 a.m. According to the Admiralty directions, the stream off Dover sets westward four hours after high water, and runs west for the next seven hours, and then turns eastward and runs so for the next five hours.⁽¹⁾ The tide, then, on August 27, B.C. 55, began to flow eastward, or up Channel, at 6.1 a.m. (viz., an hour and a half before high water), and so continued until 11.31 a.m. (being four hours after high water), and then turned westward, or down Channel, until 6.31 p.m. In other words, rejecting minute fractions, the tide ran to the east from 6.0 a.m. to 11.30 a.m., and then to the west from 11.30 a.m. to 6.30 p.m.

The late Dr. Cardwell, a distinguished scholar, and Camden Professor of Ancient History at Oxford, maintained an opinion expressed in the *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. iii., that the embarkation took place at Wissant, but the debarkation at Deal, and suggested that the Admiralty Tables, though correct enough for mid-channel, were inapplicable to the in-shore tides. The question was taken up by the Society of Antiquaries, and the President, Earl Stanhope, brought the matter under the notice of the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Duke of Somerset, who, with great liberality, admitting that

(1) "About one mile S.S.E. of the South Foreland Lighthouse, the stream begins to set to the eastward about 1h. 30m. before high water on the shore at Dover, and runs from N.E. by E. to E.N.E. about 5½ hours, or till four hours after high water. It then turns and sets W.S.W. quarter W. for about seven hours." (Potter's *Tide Tables*, 1859, p. 110.)—See also the tidal information in Mr. Lewin's valuable work before quoted.

the former tidal observations "dealt chiefly with main-tide streams, and not with the eddy or in-shore streams,"⁽¹⁾ at once directed Surveyor Calver, R.N., to ascertain the state of the tides at Dover, in-shore (*i.e.*, within the limits of $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 miles from the shore) between the South Foreland and Shakespeare's Cliff. The report of this officer, dated 1st of December, 1862, is printed in *Archæologia*, xxxix. 12, and was as follows:—"From the average of these observations, it appears that when high water at Dover occurs about 7.30 a.m., the in-shore flood, or easterly-going stream, turns 4h. 48m. after it is high water upon the shore. Taking then, for example, a 7.31 a.m. high water, and assuming that the ebb, or westerly-going stream, runs on the average for $6\frac{1}{4}$ hours, it follows that the flood, or easterly-going stream, on that day would turn off Dover at 12.19, and the succeeding ebb, or westerly-going stream, would run to the westward until 6.34 p.m."

Thus, the only differences between the off-shore and in-shore tides are: that *off-shore*, the tide, when it is high water at Dover at 8.31 a.m., turns westward at 11.31 a.m., and *in-shore* at 12.19. *Off-shore*, the tide continues to run westward until 6.31 p.m., and *in-shore* until 6.34 p.m. If Cæsar, then, at the ninth hour, Roman time—*i.e.*, at 2.18 p.m. of our time, sailed with the tide, he must necessarily, without the least shadow of a doubt, have gone westward.

A question might be raised, whether Cæsar, who

⁽¹⁾ See Letter of Lord Clarence Paget, Secretary to the Admiralty, *Archæologia*, xxxiv. 281.

tells us that he waited at anchor *until* the ninth hour for the heavy transports to arrive, *weighed anchor at that precise time*. In the first place, the very statement that he lay at anchor *until* the ninth hour implies that he did not lie at anchor beyond that time. Secondly, it will be recollected that the principal officers had arrived simultaneously with Cæsar in the *triremes*, so that he was not waiting for them. He employed the interval in giving them their instructions, in order that no time should be lost. By 2.18 p.m. all the vessels, save the cavalry transports, had come up, and then dismissing his officers, having wind and tide in his favour, he hoisted the signal and weighed. But the stream continued running to the westward till 6.30 p.m., so that if Cæsar had an eastward tide, he must have waited for it upwards of four hours after the whole fleet had assembled; and it is difficult to understand his wasting all this time without the least allusion to it. There is, moreover, this difficulty: when he did weigh, he had to carry the fleet eight miles to its destination; and considering the time occupied in the passage from Gaul even by the swiftest vessels, we may form some calculation as to the time likely to be consumed in that. So that, if he waited for the easterly tide at 6.30, he could scarcely have gained the landing-place until 8.30, or more than an hour and a half after sunset. Then there was all the fighting to be done, and the camp to be entrenched—a proceeding which the Romans never neglected, and certainly could not upon this occasion. And the performance of this duty in the

dusk or darkness would certainly have been mentioned by so careful an historian as Cæsar.

If, then, the tide was flowing from the east, the wind was blowing from the same quarter. Cæsar weighed anchor, "having got" (*nactus*) "both wind and tide in his favour." (iv. 23.) The word *nactus* would give us an idea that there had been a change either of the wind or tide. But the tide had been running in the same direction for the last two hours; a fact, from the swinging of the vessels, unmistakable by the veriest landsman, so that the change must have been in the wind. It was doubtless owing to the change of wind that the cavalry did not sooner make its appearance. On the 26th of August, B.C. 55, it was high water about 8.0 p.m. at the port of embarkation.⁽¹⁾ Cæsar got under weigh about midnight, and he appears to have ordered the cavalry to ride over to the upper port at the same time.⁽²⁾ We can imagine the difficulty of embarking some 500 or 600 horses in ill-appointed transports, an operation which the impatient general characterised as somewhat tardily performed,⁽³⁾ so that probably they lost that tide, and when they did get out, the wind had evidently shifted, and they were unable to hold their course, and so had to put back again. If the same favourable wind with which Cæsar started (S.W.) had continued, it would have been equally favourable for the transports in the

(1) See Mr. Lewin's *Invasion*, p. 27.

(2) "Tertia vigilia solvit, equiteseque in ulteriorem portum progredi, et naves conscendere, et se sequi jussit." (iv. 23.)

(3) "A quibus quum paulo tardius esset administratum." (*Ibid.*)

other port ; the wind therefore, without doubt, must have shifted, and then continued to blow from the east for several days consecutively, as the eighteen transports could not renew the attempt to cross the Channel until four days afterwards, when again a storm arose, and they were driven back *post diem quartum*.

It is admitted on all hands that Cæsar embarked and debarked on both occasions at the same place. On the second expedition to Britain, the light breeze from the south-west, which had wafted the fleet from Gaul, died away, and by midnight there was a dead calm. The ships were carried a long way out of their course by the tide, so that at daylight Cæsar found Britain on his left hand.⁽¹⁾ Now, if he were bound for the eastern shore of Kent, between Walmer and Deal, the coast would always lie on his left hand.

Again, when the cavalry transports at length got out, and approached the coast of Britain and were seen from the camp, they were overtaken and dispersed by a violent storm which drove some of them back to the place whence they came, and others to the westward of the island. Now, from Deal the coast trends southwards to the foreland ; a wind driving to the west would have sent them ashore ; at all events, if they succeeded in rounding the South Foreland, they would no longer have been visible from the camp,

⁽¹⁾ " Leni Africo provectus, mediâ circiter nocte vento intermisso, cursum non tenuit, et, longius delatus æstu, ortâ luce, sub sinistrâ Britanniam relictam conspexit." (v. 8.)

whereas if they were in sight of Lymne, Cæsar could have seen them drive farther westward.

As it is conclusively proved that Cæsar proceeded to the westward, where is the first place, on "a flat and open shore," which Volusenus had reported as fit for landing the army? The line of cliffs terminates at Sandgate, and is there succeeded by a broad and level plain. As we have to seek a landing-place to the west, there is none other within the range than this. Believing Cæsar to have anchored off Folkestone, six and a half (English) miles would bring him to the present creek of Lymne.⁽¹⁾ "Whoever will examine the features of this locality (Folkestone)," says Mr. Post, "will perceive that the ancient harbour here, winding inland for some little distance between the hills, would very perfectly make good Cæsar's words, that darts could be cast down on shore from the higher places above. In addition, in the situation of Folkestone there is another peculiarity; it was near this place that the tide flowed up the ancient estuary of the Rother, which has long since been entirely choked up."⁽²⁾

"I need not produce arguments," says Mr. Lewin, who, with unequivocal love of the subject,

(1) Portus Lemanis.—Cæsar's landing at Lymne is not a new idea. D'Anville and Philipott, the Kentish topographical writers, both held the same opinion, although neither of them supported it by argument, nor inquired how it would bear on his other transactions in Britain. Limne, signifies, in old British, a haven (Lambarde, 184) and corresponds with the Greek λιμήν, a port; and Ptolemy's *καὶνός λιμήν* is commonly thought to mean Limne. Hythe in Saxon is the same as Limne in British and Greek.

(2) *On the Place of Cæsar's Landing in Britain.* By the Rev. Beale Post, B.C.L.

has with great industry and talent gone deeply into this part of it, "to show how peculiarly favourable to a hostile descent is the great marsh lying between Sandgate and Rye. The bones that are piled in the crypt of Hythe Church bear witness of the fierce encounters which have there taken place between the Britons and their invaders on the British Armageddon." (p. 34.)

Here the shore was *planum*, or flat; it was also *apertum*, or open, for the heights to the north were at least a mile distant. Here are adjacent woods and corn lands. Now, the country from Deal to Canterbury is one great grazing plain, undiversified by a single coppice. Where, again, are the marshes at Deal? Cæsar speaks of the *vada*, or shoals (iv. 26); Plutarch of the τόπον ἐλώδη καὶ μεστὸν ὕδατος (Plut., *Cæs.* 16); and Dion says distinctly that Cæsar "landed on the marshes" (ἐς τὰ τεχνάγη ἀποβαίνοντι, xxxix. 51); and Lucan taunts Cæsar with his ill success on the marshes:—

"Oceanumque vocans incerti stagna profundi,
Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis."

(*Pharsal.*, ii. 572.)

Dion Cassius, whose authority, however, is somewhat doubtful in this matter, as he wrote more than two hundred years after this event, says, that "Cæsar not being able to land where he ought to have done, sailed round a promontory, and went to the other side." (xxxix. 51.) Now if we examine the map designed by Mr. James Elliott, we shall perceive that, according to his plan, what is now Romney

Marsh was once a great bay, with an island or bank above high water in the centre. If it were so, there is a promontory to be rounded, miles of open and flat shore, and a possibility of sailing on to the opposite side of the bay. The map is appended to Mr. Roach Smith's "Excavations at Lymne," p. 40; and by kind permission of the author is copied on Plate I. (Fig. 1.) Mr. Elliott was the engineer of the Dymchurch sea-wall, and for several years past has directed his attention to this question, and has made several careful surveys of the whole district. "The streams," says he, "from the eastern parts of the wealds of Kent and Sussex discharged themselves into the bay, and in time of floods from heavy rain would come down loaded with the *débris* of the country through which they passed, but which would be deposited, as soon as the waters had expanded, in the open bay; and we now find the whole country, about the mouth of the river Limene, at Appledore, in a circuit of about a mile (and at no other part), at a few feet under the present surface, covered with trees of the oak, alder, and birch, some of great size, and evidently having been drifted from a distance, and deposited where now found." Roman remains of pottery and other *débris* have been disinterred in great abundance at Dymchurch. (See *Jour. Brit. Archæol. Assoc.*, p. 40, Canterbury Congress, 1844.)

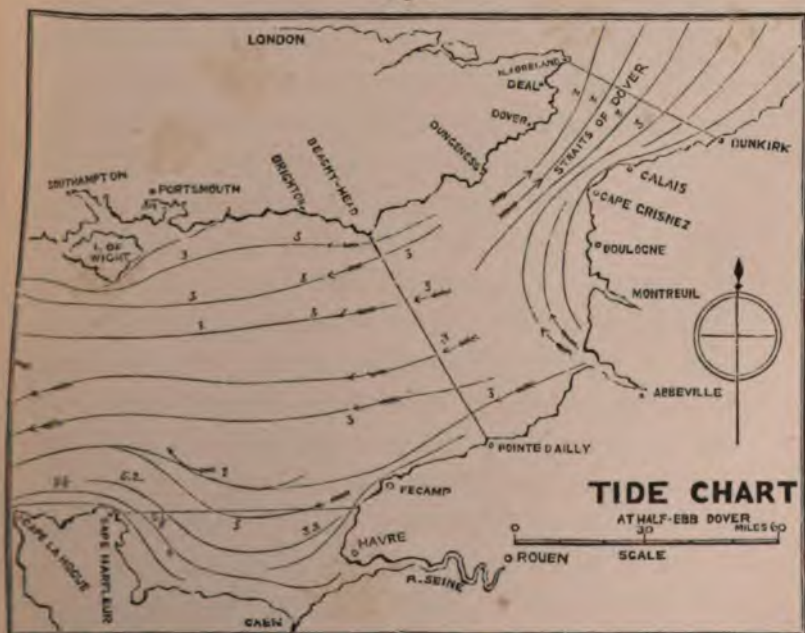
The disembarkation was effected under dangerous conditions. The Britons pushed forward their horsemen and their war-chariots, and the crowd of footmen

No. 1.

Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.





followed, with all possible speed along the heights, the course of the Roman fleet. The transports, from their size, could come up only where the water was deep, and the legionaries, encumbered with a great weight of arms and armour, would be obliged to fling themselves into the sea on an unknown coast, gain a footing, buffet the waves, and fight at the same time. The enemy, on the contrary, well acquainted with the ground and unembarrassed, could freely hurl their javelins while forcing their trained horses into the water. The Romans, strangers to this mode of warfare, were disconcerted, and hung back. The great commander had his resources at hand. He detached from the rest of the fleet the war-galleys, which were of lighter draught, and of a kind new to the natives, rowed them to the undefended flank of the enemy, and these vessels sent forth showers of arrows and other missiles from the engines on board, which, doubtless, did great execution on the naked bodies of the enemy. The Britons, dismayed and astonished, halted and recoiled. Still the Romans hesitated to leap from their ships, on account of the depth of the water; when the standard-bearer of the celebrated 10th legion—the gallant ensign's name is lost to fame—loudly invoking and exhorting his comrades to defend the eagle, flung himself into the sea, and the rest followed his example. The battle began. To the honour of our ancestors, it was long and obstinate.⁽¹⁾ The Romans, unable to keep their ranks, to gain a solid footing, or to rally beneath their standards, fell into extreme confusion.

(1) "Pugnatum est ab utrisque acriter." (iv. 26.)

The enemy, who knew all the shallows, were enabled to cut off small parties in detail, or to hurl their javelins on the undefended flanks. Seeing this, Cæsar manned the small boats, and dispatched them wherever the men were in most danger; and then the Romans, having established themselves on *terra firma*, formed their ranks, opposed science to undisciplined valour, and soon put the enemy to flight. Pursuit was impossible, owing to the non-arrival of the cavalry, wherein alone fortune failed the Romans;⁽¹⁾ but the first rood of British soil was gained, and held for the time.

The painted naked enemy had fled, and left the Romans at liberty to entrench a camp, a duty never omitted, and certainly not to be neglected under the present circumstances. They had little time for selection of a site, for evening was drawing on, and therefore it was, doubtless, as near the fleet as possible; and it was also of smaller dimensions than usual, in consequence of the absence of baggage. The precise spot where it was laid out must be a matter of conjecture, the configuration of this part of the coast having undergone material and visible changes. There is a quadrangular Roman fortress, called Stuttfall, half-way up the hill of Lymne, and overlooking the old port; some have assigned this as the site of the camp. The fortress, however, must have been of subsequent erection, being far too massive to have been raised in an emergency, and probably, like Richborough, was one of those strong fortresses which, under the com-

(1) "Hoc unum ad pristinam fortunam Cæsari defuit." (*Ibid.*)

mand of the Count of the Saxon shore, protected the southern and eastern coasts during the later Roman period, and formed the germ of the corporation of the Cinque Ports. Mr. Lewin places it on the sea-side opposite Lyme, possibly where the modern fort now stands. Mr. Appach, who has taken up the subject with a hearty zeal, is of opinion that Cæsar brought up at Hythe, and on the supposition that Romney Marsh was not then in existence, coasted thence to Borrington, landed along the coast there, and set up his camp immediately to the west of the present Borrington church.⁽¹⁾ At all events, the veil is lifted to this extent, that it can be seen clearly and undoubtedly that Cæsar started from either Wissant or Boulogne, that he was off the coast of Britain on the 27th of August, and that he landed somewhere to the west of Folkestone.

The natives sued for peace and sent in hostages, which it was Cæsar's policy to accept, for no doubt he was already convinced that, in order to carry out his intentions, he must pay another visit to the island, and be accompanied by a far more imposing force than he had under his present command.

Then came the disastrous storm, "*post diem quartum*," and the appearance, and still more rapid disappearance, of the cavalry transports; and then that tempestuous night with the high tide, which did such damage to the war-galleys hauled on the beach, and to the heavy transports, which broke from

⁽¹⁾ *Julius Cæsar's British Expedition*. By Francis H. Appach, Esq., M.A. Paper read at Congress of the British Archæological Association at Hastings, August 22, 1866.

their moorings, and were dashed together. Twelve vessels were destroyed; so that Cæsar must heartily have wished himself back again on the Continent. To enable him to do so, the soldiers began vigorously to repair the damage, making use of the materials supplied by the wrecks to render the rest seaworthy. The discipline of the Romans, which had enabled a smaller number to overcome a greater, had deceived the Britons; but when, from the smallness of the camp, they could form an estimate of the numerical strength of the enemy, and when they perceived that he had neither cavalry, ships, nor provisions, they thought they saw an opportunity of freeing for ever their native land from this daring foe. Cæsar had a suspicion of their designs, and kept a watchful eye. The legions took it by turns to go out daily into the country near the camp to gather in the harvest left on the ground. No doubt the Britons took it ill that an enemy should reap what they had sowed. One day, when the 7th legion was out on this duty, those who were on guard at the entrance to the camp reported to Cæsar that a greater dust than usual was observed in the direction whither the legion had marched. Cæsar, at once guessing the state of affairs, ordered the cohorts upon guard to march with him to that quarter, and two others to take their place at the gate, and the rest to arm themselves and follow him immediately. After having advanced a little distance from the camp, he discovered his men overpowered by the enemy; for the natives, being able to conjecture which way the men would pass, had concealed them-

selves over-night in the woods, had fallen suddenly upon the Roman soldiers in the act of reaping—consequently divested of their arms—had killed a few, and terrified the rest, besides enclosing them with their horses and chariots. Cæsar appeared at the critical moment. He did not judge it prudent to attack the enemy, but contented himself with standing on the defensive, and so quietly withdrew his men.

Cæsar here takes occasion to mention the manner of fighting with the war-chariots, and he highly commends the dexterity of the “barbarians” in handling them. “These chariots,” he says, “combine the mobility of cavalry with the stability of infantry.” One might infer that this was the first time on which they came into collision with the Roman troops, and that horsemen opposed the landing and forced their horses into the water. Chariots could scarcely have been available on the beach; and if they had descended to the edge of the water, the probability is that Cæsar would then have notified the fact. Mr. Long is of opinion that the Britons had no cavalry, and that the “*equites hostium essedarii*” (*Bel. Gal.*, v. 15), are no more than the *essedarii*. He, however, candidly admits that in one place Cæsar says “*peditatus equitatusque*” (of the British), and that Strabo (p. 200), in his account of Britain, says that they (the Britons) use chariots *for the most part* (το πλεον).⁽¹⁾ The British horses appear to have been small; but still, with such an abundance of them as it appears there were,

(1) Note to Cæsar, v. 16, p. 211.

it is difficult to suppose that they were not used for riding, an act, one would imagine, more primitive than driving.

After this the Britons assembled in great force, and made a final attack on the camp, which ended in their flight. The Romans pursued them as well as they could, and killed many; but as they had no cavalry, save about thirty horses—which Commius had brought over with him—the rest escaped. On the same day they sent a deputation to sue for peace. Cæsar exacted double the number of hostages which he had before required, and the equinox being at hand, and a favourable wind occurring, he set sail a little after midnight, and thus concluded a bootless visit of less than three weeks to these shores, having failed in acquiring information—the avowed object of the expedition—on any subject, save one—the *genus hominum*, and he had truly discovered the mettle of the inhabitants.

It has already been stated that two of the transports could not make the port for which they were bound, and drifted farther south. ⁽¹⁾ Mr. Lewin regards this circumstance as a strong confirmation of his theory respecting Boulogne, because the Admiralty

(1) "Paulo infra delatæ sunt." (iv. 36.)—Mr. Airy understands this to mean that the ships were "carried down the wind." (*Vide Athenæum*, 10th Sept., 1859.)—But Cæsar uses the word *inferiorem* and *superiorem* (c. 28), undoubtedly, with reference to the points of the compass. The Romans thought the North Pole elevated above their heads, and the South one the antipodes, beneath them.—Virgil is express on this point: "Hic vertex (the North Pole) nobis semper sublimis: at illum (the other, the South Pole) sub pedibus Styx atra videt manesque profundi." (*Georg.*, i.)

Directory gives the following caution : "On approaching Boulogne at the beginning of a rising tide, great attention should be paid to the direction in the tables, as the streams (from the Channel to the North Sea) hereabout meet, and are turned down upon the French coast; so that a ship, which, at the English side, would at this time have a stream setting straight up the Channel, here encounters one upon her beam, sweeping her down towards the Somme, and hence, probably, the cause of the many disastrous losses which have occurred in this part of the Channel." (1) The streams *hereabout* meet. A glance at the diagram (*vide Plate I., fig. 2*) which Mr. Potter courteously gave permission to be copied here, gives us reason to believe that the same casualty would occur to a vessel off Cape Grisnez, making for Wissant, which would be driven into Ambleteuse, or elsewhere, ashore.

The incident above-mentioned introduces us to an instance of the superiority of discipline over numbers. The 300 soldiers, having disembarked from the two vessels, were marching for their camp, when they were surrounded by their old enemies, the Morini, who summoned them to surrender their arms or die. But the Romans, forming themselves into a ring, (2) set the barbarians at defiance. The

(1) Potter's *Tide Tables*, p. 122.

(2) "Orbe facto," 37.—"This was a movement practised as a last resource against an overwhelming force. The men formed a circle, and presented a front all round. (v. 33.) Gellius (x. 9) gives a list of the various names applied to the form in which soldiers were arranged—*frons*, *subsidia*, *cuneus*, *orbis*, *globus*, *forfices* (probably resembling the double-necked column peculiar to the Prussian army), *serra*, *ala*, *turres*;" and he adds that these military terms

number of the enemy speedily increased to about 6,000. For upwards of four hours did this gallant little band defend itself, until Cæsar, receiving intelligence of their position, immediately dispatched the whole of the cavalry from the camp to their rescue, upon sight of which the enemy threw down his arms and fled.

are derived from the things themselves, which are literally so called." (Note to Long's *Cæsar*.)—In the Middle Ages this formation was repeatedly resorted to. Sir Walter Scott gives an account of it at the combat of Flodden Field. (See *Marmion*, canto vi. 34.)

for which, however, is not apparent), was certainly not the case after so many acts of her human existence had been played out, when destiny led Cæsar to these shores. Both Strabo and Diodorus speak of the comparative gentleness of manners which the inhabitants of the British tin district had acquired from their intercourse with foreign traders. The comparison of the ancient Britons with the Sandwich Islanders is, perhaps, founded on their practice of tattooing their bodies with blue; but, although the state both of the Caledonians and Hibernians was savage, ⁽¹⁾ yet the condition of the Southern Britons, and particularly of the inhabitants of the coast nearest to Gaul, as described by Cæsar, the earliest witness on the subject, can hardly be considered to have been as low as that of the South Sea Islanders.

Britain appears to have been peopled by successive migrations from the neighbouring coast of Gaul. Without entering into an ethnological disquisition, it will be sufficient for the purpose to state that in Cæsar's time Gallia was divided among three great nations—the Belgæ, Celtæ, and Aquitani. Of these the Celtæ were the most extensive, and their name is that under which the whole nation was known to the Greeks, ⁽²⁾ the word Galli being the Latinised form of

⁽¹⁾ Dio Cass., lxxvi. 12.—Strabo, v. 5, § 6.

⁽²⁾ The Rev. Isaac Taylor, in his *Words and Places*, remarks on the curious distribution of Anglo-Saxon names over the district which lies between Calais, Boulogne, and St. Omer. All Englishmen who have been in that part of the country must have thought that "Wimille" sounded very like "windmill," and that it was singular a place called "Sangatte" should exist exactly opposite to our Kentish "Sandgate."

the native term Gael.⁽¹⁾ They extended from the Seine to the Garonne; the Aquitani from the Garonne to the Pyrenees; and the Belgæ possessed all the country between the Seine and Marne to the Rhine.⁽²⁾ Cæsar tells us that of these three nations the Belgæ were the most redoubtable. Lying nearest to Britain, they crossed over the narrow sea, drove out the Celtic inhabitants, and established themselves in Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Somersetshire. Their principal station was called by the Romans *Venta Belgarum*, or Winchester. He distinguishes the Cantii, or people of Kent, as more advanced than the rest in the habits of civilised life, and as not differing much from the people of Gaul. The Belgæ, the Regni, or people of Sussex, and the Cantii, pursued agriculture; but most of the interior tribes lived on milk and flesh, or in that state which has been called the pastoral, and clothed themselves with skins.⁽³⁾ But there is no doubt that the inhabitants of the south coast of Britain enjoyed a much higher order of civilisation; in fact, superior to that possessed by their neighbours on the opposite coast.

What do we collect from Cæsar's narrative? He, the first great foreigner that invaded Britain, found a

Twenty-two of these names have the suffix "ton," which is hardly found elsewhere on the Continent, and more than 100 end in "ham," "harn," or "han," as for instance, Bazingham, Eringham, Berlingham, in France, corresponding to Brassingham, Erringham, and Birlingham, in England. It would seem as if this particular portion of the French coast had received a Saxon colony from England, or these names may preserve the traces of the old *Littus Saxonicum*.

(1) *Bel. Gal.*, i. 1.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) v. 14.

civil and military system, different from anything he had witnessed before; but, judging from the patent facts on the face of his own account of his two campaigns, quite able to cope with that of Rome. He denominates the natives *Barbari*; but the Romans called all nations by that term except themselves and the Greeks. His description conveys the impression of a country long settled under an organised constitution and government; with corn abundant and easily procured; a population so dense as to strike him with amazement; ⁽¹⁾ houses numerous (*creberrima*), and stock abundant; a metallic currency, copper and bars of iron. ⁽²⁾

The British chariot system excited his admiration and the terror of the legionaries. From his minute description of it, he had never witnessed it elsewhere. He says it was new to him, and took his men by surprise. The Scriptures tell us that Solomon gathered together 1,400 chariots; but the mere reserve of Cassivellaunus, after dismissing the rest of his forces, amounted to 4,000. An organisation which could scarcely have existed without a considerable degree of civilisation.

It is not necessary to dilate upon the wondrous earthworks—relics still of nigh 2,000 years—because their date is uncertain, and Cæsar does not mention them. But this may be remarked, that in comparing the Roman and British systems of castrametation,

(1) "Infinita hominum est multitudo." (§ 12.)—Also Diod. Sic., εἶναι δὲ καὶ πολυάνθρωπον τὴν νῆσον. (v. 21.)

(2) *Bel. Gal.*, v. 12.

Sir Christopher Wren did not hesitate to assign the palm of science to the British. As to their non-military works, every known artificial mound is dwarfed to very humble dimensions by the side of Silbury Hill and Old Sarum.

Long before the Roman invasion, Druidism was a The Druids. flourishing institution here. Popular belief attaches little more to the aspect of its professors than that of dignified old savages, with long beards and flowing robes, with a knife in one hand and a branch of mistletoe in the other; the sanguinary immolators of human victims. Cæsar, a rival pagan, with all a Roman citizen's feeling of superiority, fairly tells us that the Druids were great astronomers; that they taught the youth the motions of the heavenly bodies, the magnitude of the world and the earth, the nature of things, and the might and power of the immortal gods.⁽¹⁾ They held, too, the immortality of the soul in transmigration; and this doctrine they esteemed a great incentive to courage, the fear of death being removed. They were also learned in Greek. Cæsar says that the Druidic colleges in Britain were frequented by natives and *foreigners*, who wished to study the system (*disciplina*) which he believed to have emanated hence into Gaul.⁽²⁾ This, however, is scarcely credible. The lithic ruins of the old Druidical temples extend over the face of the country from Cornwall to the Hebrides; and some of

(1) *Bel. Gal.*, vi. 14.

(2) "*Disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur; et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causa proficiscuntur.*" (*Ibid.* 13.)

them, at all events, must have been in existence in Cæsar's time, although he may not have seen them. These huge circles were the scenes of national solemnities and festivities; mighty orreries, representing the great temple of the universe; Amesbury has disappeared; fragments only of Stonehenge remain; but it would tax our utmost mechanical ingenuity to convey and adjust the immense solitary obelisks that composed them.

It is plain that there existed in Britain a pre-Roman civilisation which loses little by comparison with the contemporary state of things elsewhere. Diodorus Siculus (v. 21) attests the simplicity of the manners of the Britons, as widely different from the unsteadiness and dishonesty of the inhabitants of the more highly-favoured south. There were, of course, dark spots; but these "barbarians" successfully baffled the attempts of the first and the most warlike of the Cæsars in two campaigns; so that he left not a Roman soldier behind, he obtained no booty of any value, and he even lost for a time, as the result of his discomfiture, all his Gallic acquisitions. The idiosyncrasy of nations is curious: the Briton had no claim for distinction in the fine arts; Italy is still our mistress in that respect. Cicero wrote to Atticus, "It is now ascertained that there is not a scruple of silver in that island (Britain), nor any hope of booty except slaves, and from these I think you do not expect to find men learned in letters or music."⁽¹⁾

(¹) "*Etiam illud cognotum est, neque argenti scripulum esse in illa insula, neque ullam spem prædæ nisi en mancipiis: ex quibus nullis puto te literis aut musicis eruditos exspectare.*" (iv. 16.)

And again, the great orator playfully wrote to Trebatius, "I hear that there is neither gold nor silver in Britain; if this be so, you had better capture a war-chariot, and hasten back to us as soon as possible." ⁽¹⁾

The next year beheld Cæsar's second invasion of Britain, for which great preparations had been made during his absence in Italy. According to his instructions, the fleet had been remodelled, the transports being made lower and wider, so as to render them handier for hauling up on the beach, and for taking on board their cargoes of horses. They were to be propelled either by sails or oars. Every pains had been taken to render the expedition complete. What was required for the fitting out the vessels had been procured from Spain. Second
Invasion.

The activity of the great general may be collected from his own brief notices. He left the army for Italy at the beginning of the new year (B.C. 54); travelled all through Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul; crossed over into Illyricum and back; came to an understanding with the Pirustæ, who had been troublesome; and returned to the army in Belgium. Altogether, he must, at least, have travelled 2,000 miles, without reckoning his journeys to the different towns where he held courts. ⁽²⁾ Upon his arrival, he made a tour of inspection of the winter quarters of the army, and

⁽¹⁾ "In Britanniam nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti. Id si ita est, essedum aliquod suadeo capias, et ad nos quamprimum recurras." (*Ad Dio.*, vii. 7.)

⁽²⁾ Note to Long's *Cæsar*, p. 196.

he was pleased to find about 600 transports and 28 ships of war, prepared by the artisans of the army, and ready to be launched in a few days. They were all ordered to assemble at Portus Itius. In the meanwhile, he marched against the Treviri (or people of Trèves) with four light legions (*legionibus expeditis*) and 800 cavalry; nor was he long in reducing them to obedience. He then proceeded to the rendezvous, where the whole disposable force had assembled, with the exception of 60 ships, which had been built in the country of the Meldi (an uncertain locality), and which had been driven back by a storm. For five-and-twenty days the embarkation of the troops was delayed by the prevalence of north-westerly gales. At the first change of wind he got under weigh about sunset. A little episode occurred just as the embarkation was being effected in the defection of the Æduan Dumnorix, who, taking advantage of the busy moment, quietly withdrew from the camp with all the cavalry of his country. For Cæsar had insisted on his accompanying the expedition, as he intended to carry along with him all those who could not be trusted in his absence. The cavalry force assembled there consisted entirely of Gauls, amounting to 4,000 horses, half of which Cæsar left with three legions under Labienus to watch over his interests in Gaul; the other half he took with him, the necessity for such a force having been fully demonstrated in the late expedition. The remainder of the army consisted of five legions, or about 20,000 men.

We may determine with tolerable accuracy the period of the year when he set sail. Cæsar was at Placentia and Lodi, in Hither Gaul, at the end of May;⁽¹⁾ he was probably then on his road to Trans-alpine Gaul. He tells us he made quick work with the Treviri, because he did not wish to pass the summer there;⁽²⁾ and if we take midsummer as the date of embarkation, we shall not be far wrong.

At length, everything being ready, and a light south-west wind blowing,⁽³⁾ he got under weigh at sunset. Towards midnight the wind fell, so that he could not hold his course; and being drifted by the tide, at daylight he found that the coast of Britain lay (*relictam*, left behind) on his left hand. By this we may understand that the fleet was carried away, broadside on, to the eastward, beyond the South Foreland, the bows of the vessels pointing northwards towards Deal, and the coast discovered in an unexpected position: whether he would have infallibly struck on the Goodwin Sands, had he held on for Deal, and the tide had not turned, is a question.⁽⁴⁾ Cæsar could not hold his course, because in the

(1) Cicero, *Epis. ad Q. Fratrem*, ii. 15.

(2) "Ne aestatem in Treviris consumere cogeretur." (*Bel. Gal.*, v. 4.)
—See also Mr. Lewin, p. 84, who is very definite on this point.

(3) "Leni Africo provectus." (*Ibid.*, 8.)—"The Africus is a wind which blows '*ab occasu brumali*,' and between this point and south (*Notus*) was the *Libonotus*. Africus, therefore, was either somewhat farther south than W.S.W., or not quite so far S. as S.W. by W." (Note to Long's *Cæsar*, p. 201.)

(4) These sands, as it is well known, according to tradition, were at one time a part of Kent, and the lands belonging to Godwin, Earl of Kent. Florence of Worcester describes a disastrous irruption of the sea, by which whole villages were submerged, and

absence of wind he could not stem the tide, which was flowing to the eastward, and he wished to steer to the west. Had his course been east or north-east, the tide would have been in his favour. But if he were bound for the east coast of Britain, where he had been the year before, could he possibly have expressed surprise that the coast lay on the port side?

Cæsar took advantage of the turn of the tide, got out his oars, and about mid-day arrived at the landing-place of the preceding year. Now if he were making for Deal, the turn of the tide would not have been in his favour, as it was then flowing to the westward; unless, indeed, he had been borne by the current beyond that place—*i.e.*, farther north than Deal, and

an innumerable multitude of people were drowned. "*Mare littus egreditur tertio Cal. Octobris, et in Anglia villas quamplurimas innumerabilemque populi multitudinem submersit.*" (p. 616.) He died, according to Higden, in 1118, just ninety-six years after the event. Henry of Huntingdon, who records it also, was born in the same century with him, and both agree in fixing the date as that of the year 1014. Florence names the very day, in which Matthew of Westminster follows him. Another inundation occurred, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chron., A.D. 1099. "In this year also, on St. Martin's Mass-day (Nov. 11), the sea-flood sprung up to that degree, and did so much harm as no man remembered it ever did before; and it was on the same day a new moon." The opinion of modern geologists is confirmatory of the tradition. "Goodwin Sands," says Sir C. Lyell, "may be presumed to be a remnant of land, and not a mere accumulation of sea-sand, from the fact that when the erection of a lighthouse on the shoal was in contemplation by the Trinity Board, in 1817, it was found by borings that the bank consisted of fifteen feet of sand, resting on blue clay." (*Principles of Geology*, edit. 1847, ch. xx., p. 300.) Since the supposed estate of Earl Godwin, as marked out by the sands bearing his name, extends at the present moment all the way from Deal along the coast to the North Foreland—if the tradition be true—it follows that the theory of Cæsar's eastern landing requires revision, being calculated on the present configuration of the coast. (See also *Brit. Archæol. Assoc.*, Canterbury Congress, 1844; pp. 130, 376.)

so could run down upon it with the change of tide. Cæsar does not say so. But if so, the time would not allow of his being carried very far northwards beyond Deal; and he might have congratulated himself upon having made a quick passage, and there would be no cause for the expression of his admiration at the indefatigable exertions of the rowers of the heavy transports, who kept up with the pace of the light war-galleys, and so brought up the whole fleet simultaneously at the landing-place by twelve o'clock in the day. As Cæsar had been drifted by the tide from west to east, he must, if he went back with the tide when it turned, have gone from east to west. This he would naturally do if Hythe were his object, but not if he were making for Deal; for either he must have gone against the tide as it turned down Channel, or, at least, athwart it, and could not, by any possibility, have taken advantage of the tide, and gone along with it. If the Goodwins had then been in existence, we should have heard something of them, or nothing of the expedition.

Another remarkable fact is, that the turn of the tide in the Channel is *four hours after high water*. When Cæsar therefore went with the tide at its turning, it was four hours after high water, and approaching to low water. What chance would a fleet of 800 sail about mid-Channel, to the east of the South Foreland, making for Deal, have of avoiding the sands? They must inevitably have been carried over them; and allowing for the rate at which they advanced, they must have come upon them at low

water. The Emperor, to avoid this difficulty, makes the fleet to deviate in a zigzag (*vide* Atlas to *Jules César*), affording an existence of miraculous luck and pilotage.

The Second
Landing.

The enemy fled at his approach, so that the embarkation was effected without difficulty. And no wonder; for the fleet, by private additions, had swollen to the number of more than 800 vessels of various descriptions. Cæsar had, therefore, ample opportunity to select an eligible site for a camp (*idoneo loco*); not this time placed, at the exigency of the moment, as close as possible to the fleet, but on high ground at some distance inland. Mr. Lewin imagines that it might have been on the high platform overlooking the marsh at Lymne, perhaps on the site of Lymne Castle. The apparent objection to this view is that, if it were there, it would not have been necessary to send *mounted messengers* from the fleet to inform Cæsar that during the violent storm of the over-night serious damage had occurred to the shipping. The military camp was evidently at a considerable distance from the naval one; he afterwards saw fit to unite the two by a line of defence.

Mr. Appach, again, is of opinion that the military camp was situated at Ham Place, midway between Appledore and Kennardington. All, at best, is but conjecture, and those who maintain the eastern landing find a site exactly suited to their theory.⁽¹⁾

(1) Mr. Long agrees, as "it has been conjectured by others, that it (the camp) may have been on the Stour, about where the enclosure of Richborough now is. Here he would find water, which he could

Cæsar lost no time in pursuing the enemy. Having ascertained their position from his prisoners, and having left ten cohorts and 300 horse as a guard for the ships, under the command of Quintus Atrius, the very evening of his landing, he made a midnight march of twelve miles, and came upon the native army. The Kentish men immediately arose, and descended to a river with their cavalry and chariots, and attacked; but the Roman horse repulsed them, and they retired to a position strongly fortified by nature and art. For the Britons had been fighting amongst themselves, and the approaches to this stronghold had been defended by felled trees against a domestic foe. The 7th legion, however, formed the *testudo*, carried the works, and drove the enemy out. Cæsar, however, forbade a pursuit, being unacquainted with the country, and withdrew his men to camp, and fortified it.⁽¹⁾

Mr. Lewin says, "If we measure twelve miles from Limne along the road to Canterbury, it will bring us to Wye, on the southern bank of the river Stour. The Britons were posted in Challock Wood, an eminence about a mile off on the other or north side of the river."⁽²⁾ Mr. Long appends a note to the passage, and writes, "Twelve Roman miles from Deal, or there-

not get anywhere else on this coast" (p. 204).—If so, how was the army watered on the first expedition?—The Emperor assigns the site to the sea-coast near Deal. (II., ch. iii.)

⁽¹⁾ *Bel. Gal.*, v. 9.

⁽²⁾ P. 87.—The author of the *History and Topography of Wye* writes, "The ancient British camp, strictly so called, occupies that part of the summit of Wye Downs directly over the chalk pit, above Cold Harbour, and consists of more than 200 caves: the circuit of the entire area being not less than 630 paces." (p. 8.)

abouts, we find Grove Ferry on the Stour, where the land is low on the east side, or the side by which Cæsar would approach; but it rises on the opposite side, that on which the Britanni posted themselves (*locus superior*). The locality fits the description." (p. 205.)

The next day, early, the Roman army had scarcely begun its advance in three divisions when horsemen came from Atrius to inform Cæsar that, in the very violent storm of the over-night, the whole fleet had been driven ashore and shattered. Thus, in fact, the disaster of the preceding year was reproduced. The troops were at once countermanded, and Cæsar hurried back to the shore. He found forty vessels complete wrecks, the rest were capable of repair. So he set the artificers of the army at work,⁽¹⁾ and wrote to Labienus to provide him with as many ships as possible. The fleet was then hauled up high and dry, and the entrenchments of the military were extended to the naval camp, so as to form one entire fortification, a very laborious work, which occupied the army about ten days, though they worked day and night incessantly.

In the meantime the Britons had not been inactive. The detriment of disunion was manifest.

(1) There was a number of *fabri* in the legions. The management of the engines of war required mechanics. The directors of the *fabri* were *præfecti*. The *fabri* at this time seem to have been reckoned as legionary soldiers, though we may suppose that such a class of men would be mainly employed where they would be most useful, and not be exposed to useless risk. The *fabri* were the skilled workmen; but all the soldiers worked at such things as they could do. Livy (i. 43) mentions the origin of the *fabri*.

Common danger compelled them to drop private animosities ; and Cassivellaunus, who, previously to the arrival of the Romans, had been incessantly engaged in warfare with his countrymen of other districts, was, by general consent, invested with the supreme command of the allied army ; so that when Cæsar again took the field, and returned to the point which he had quitted, he found a great accession of force prepared to contest his farther progress.

The Roman army resumed its advance, and the enemy's horse and chariots boldly attacked the cavalry on the march. The British tactics were to make a dash, and then retreat ; and when the chance of an engagement seemed at an end, and the Romans had commenced the labour of fortifying their camp for the night, suddenly the yells of the drivers were heard, and chariots and horsemen started forth amidst the interstices of the woods, before the startled legionaries had time to rush to their arms. The great commander is constrained to admit that his men were scared by this, to them, new mode of warfare. ⁽¹⁾ Then when the discipline of serried ranks was brought to bear against them, they launched their weapons (javelins, we may presume, for it is remarkable that Cæsar gives no specification of their arms, details more suitable to him, one would suppose, than those of geographical survey), and were soon beyond danger. The cavalry could not pursue them unsupported by the infantry, for the Britons sometimes pretended flight, and having drawn the

British
Tactics.

(1) "*Novo genere pugne perterritis nostris.*" (v. 15.)

Roman horse after them, they would jump from their chariots, and fight on foot with great advantage. There was a system, too, in their mode of fighting; they never fought in close order, but in detached parties, at a considerable distance from one another, each of them having their particular post assigned, from whence they received support, and the weary were relieved by the fresh. ⁽¹⁾ The Romans remained masters of every field, but it was by dint of hard fighting; and Cæsar owns to the severe losses which he sustained. His infantry soldiers, he says, were unfit to cope with such an enemy, because the weight of their armour would not admit of their pursuing, nor did they dare leave their standards. The cavalry, whether they pursued or retreated, were in equal danger.

It was in such a combat as this, on the first occasion that active operations were resumed, that Q. Laberius Durus, a military tribune (or colonel), was killed. The cavalry had been drawn away in pursuit, and it was only by Cæsar's sending forward cohort after cohort to their assistance that the fortune of the day was retrieved. ⁽²⁾

The Britons were repulsed, but not defeated. They watched every movement of the invaders, and on the next day a severe action was fought. At mid-day three legions and all the cavalry were sent out to forage. The largeness of the force employed for this duty shows that the danger was considered imminent. The enemy suddenly fell upon them,

⁽¹⁾ *Bel. Gal.*, v. 16.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, 15.

and fought with wonderful courage up to the very standards of the Romans; but they were at length driven off with great loss. Upon this defeat, the auxiliaries forsook Cassivellaunus, who was never afterwards able to bring the whole united force into the field.

Cæsar then determined to march into the country of Cassivellaunus, to the Thames, a river which, he tells us, divides the territory of that chieftain from the maritime states for about eighty miles from the sea ⁽¹⁾—a sentence of somewhat doubtful interpretation.

To his route thither he gives us no clue; the enemy, however, was beforehand with him, and was posted in great force on the opposite bank, which he had studded with sharp stakes, in order to prevent the Romans from landing; some, also, were set up in the stream itself, beneath the surface of the water.

From the undoubted fact of the former existence of some stakes or piles in the bed of the river, known as the Coway Stakes, between Walton and Weybridge, near the junction of the Wey and the Thames, it has been assumed that this was the crossing-place of the armies. This point has presented ample grounds for debate. The tradition is as old as the Venerable Bede. "The remains of the stakes," says he, "are to be seen there to this very day;" and it appears, upon inspection, that each of

(1) "*Cassivellauno, cujus fines a maritimis civitatibus flumen dividit, quod appellatur Tamesis, a mari circiter millia passuum lxxx.*" (*Ibid.*, 11.)

them was as thick as a man's thigh, and that they were wrapped round (*circumfusæ*) with lead, and fixed immovably in the depths of the river.⁽¹⁾ Bede does not mention where in the river these stakes were to be found; in fact, he himself never saw the Thames. Camden was the first to direct attention to the *locus in quo*, and expresses himself very positively on the subject. "It is impossible," he writes, "I should be mistaken in the place, because here the river is scarce six foot deep; and the place at this day, from these *stakes*, is called *Coway-stakes*; to which we may add, that Cæsar makes the bounds of Cassivelan, where he fixes this his passage, to be about eighty miles distant from that sea which washes the east part of Kent where he landed." (Vol. i., p. 183.) "Not far from hence," says the continuator of Camden, "upon the Thames, is Walton, in which parish is a great camp of about twelve acres, single work, and oblong. There is a road lies through it, and it is probable that Walton takes its name from this remarkable *vallum*." Adam's *Index Villaris* gives a list of forty-seven distinct Waltons in England; it is not likely, therefore, that this surmise as to the derivation of the name is correct. The camp alluded to is doubtless the one on St. George's Hill, at the distance of a mile and a half to the south of Coway Stakes, the remains of which are still perceptible,⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ *Hist. Eccles.*, i. 2.

⁽²⁾ In the Emperor's *Jules César*, the fact of there ever having been a camp there is denied: "Sur la colline de Saint-Georges près de Walton sur la Tamise, il n'a jamais existé de camp." (II., lib. iii., ch. viii.)

double-trenched, containing more than thirteen acres,⁽¹⁾ and called traditionally Cæsar's camp, but what Dr. Guest calls a British stronghold. ⁽²⁾

Mr. Gale visited the place in 1734; ⁽³⁾ and Mr. Daines Barrington, in 1769, writes that the stakes lie in a single line across the river, and suggests that they are the remains of a fishing weir, so many of which, in the Thames particularly, the twenty-third chapter of *Magna Charta* ⁽⁴⁾ directs should be destroyed.

In Manning's *Surrey* the theory of the Coway stakes having been Cæsar's crossing-place is warmly maintained. In confirmation of this being the ford in question, it is added that spurs and fragments of spears, &c., had been dug up at different times in a field called Warclose, in the parish of Shepperton; ⁽⁵⁾ "but, before we admit the argument of the spurs," adds Mr. Lewin (p. 107), "it must be proved, which may be a matter of difficulty, that *the Romans wore spurs!*"

There would be no difficulty in that, if we recall, amid numberless other proofs, Virgil's beautiful apostrophe to Marcellus:—

"Non illi quisquam se impune tulisset
Obvius armato; seu quum pedes viat in hostem;
Seu spumantis equi foderet calcaribus arnos."

Æneid, vi. 882.

Cæsar disposes of what must have been a very

⁽¹⁾ Manning's *Surrey*, ii.

⁽²⁾ Lecture delivered at Royal Institution, 12th July, 1866. (*Vide Athenæum*, No. 2,022, p. 114.)

⁽³⁾ *Archæologia*, i. 184.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, ii. 141.

⁽⁵⁾ Manning, ii. 759.

gallant affair, in four lines. He had ascertained what was in store for him from the prisoners and deserters. He sent the cavalry on beforehand, and ordered the infantry to follow them as quickly as possible. But such was the activity and impetuosity of the men, whose heads alone were above water, that the enemy could not sustain the attack of the legionaries and cavalry, and they abandoned the bank and fled.

How cavalry or infantry could cross the river, the only fordable place being protected with stakes, and a hostile army arranged on the bank, is certainly wonderful.⁽¹⁾

The Emperor of the French endeavours to meet the difficulty by supposing that Cæsar sent the cavalry across the river at some place, either above or below the ford, to take the Britons in flank, and to occupy the enemy's attention, while the infantry soldiers removed the stakes.

As the river was fordable "only at one place," the cavalry on this hypothesis must have swam the river in the deeps; and to swim cavalry over such a river as the Thames, is a military operation not of every day's occurrence; although with the Scythian cavalry of Timur and Genghis Khan it was a feat constantly performed. No river, however deep or

(1) Polyænus, a Greek author of the second century, who wrote a book on the Stratagems of Illustrious Generals, tells a story of Cæsar having with him a very large elephant cased in mail, with a tower on his back containing bowmen and slingers. The elephant, with his load, entered the river and frightened the Britanni away. (*Strateg.*, viii. 23, § 5.)—Cæsar makes no mention of what would have been a very important fact.

swift, arrested them. When the latter surprised Bagdad, he had just swam the Tigris with 300,000 horsemen. But a presumptive proof that this manœuvre was not adopted is, that the infantry appear to have got across first; at all events, it is not stated that the cavalry was the first to land: "*Hostes impetum legionum atque equitum sustinere non possent.*" (v. 18.) The stream was doubtless swifter in those days, flowing uninterruptedly to the sea without a single lock to impede its progress; on the other hand, it must be remembered that the absence of locks would have made the river shallower.

After all, it may not have been at Coway that the crossing was effected. The Emperor of the French sent over two officers to examine the present state of the river near Coway. They reported that there was no ford at Coway, but that there were eight or nine between Shepperton and London. His Majesty reasons thus: the tide ends at Teddington—the name of which he tells us means Tide-end-town; ⁽¹⁾ and as Cæsar would hardly select a spot for crossing the river where he might be interrupted by the tide, he must have passed it west of Teddington. Of the various fords between Teddington and Coway, the Emperor selects the one at Sunbury as being the most favourable for Cæsar's purpose.

The fallacy which runs through this reasoning is patent. The Emperor argues from the present to

⁽¹⁾ His Majesty's etymology is entirely at fault. There are no grounds for this derivation. (*Vide* Kemble's *Codez Diplomaticus*, v. *Tudington*.)

the past without taking any note of the changes that have occurred during 2,000 years; and the physical changes of so many centuries invest the whole question of Cæsar's landing-place, as well as that of the locality where he crossed the Thames, in profound and impenetrable obscurity. The capricious freaks of nature, the silent transformations of the material world, the incessant war of the elements, afford but an insecure basis for historical and topographical investigation. All that we can hope is to frame a plausible and consistent theory. It is easier to discover what is not than what is the truth. Dr. Guest maintains that these shallows are attributable to the present artificial state of the river. Silt and gravel beneath each weir being torn up and carried down and deposited by the current in the still water, so that before each weir there is a tendency to form a shallow, over which in one or more places a man may, in certain states of the river, wade across; and that the shallow at Sunbury is a mere consequence of Sunbury weir. Remove the weir, and Cæsar's ford at Sunbury would be swept away in a twelvemonth by the natural scour of the river.

When we find a village or hamlet on the banks of a stream bearing a name which ends in the word *ford*, we may infer with certainty that at the time the name was given there was a ford in the neighbourhood. Such names are frequent on the upper Thames, *e.g.*, Oxford, Shillingford, Wallingford, Moulsoford, and others; and even in the forest district round Marlow we have Harleyford; but from

thence to the sea there is but one place on the banks of the Thames which bears a name ending in *ford*. This single place is Halliford, at the Coway stakes. Early and constant tradition—which must have had some source more worthy of credit than mere idle invention or the love of the marvellous—selects this place as the site; it, moreover, accords sufficiently well with the distance from Portus Lemanis, namely, eighty Roman miles.

Now, as to the stakes; it appears that those which were known in the seventh or eighth century, and described by Bede as being of the thickness of a man's thigh, and shod with lead, and which are traditionally believed to be the Coway ones, were found to have been placed *athwart* the stream.⁽¹⁾ Now it is quite clear that these could not have been the stakes which Cæsar mentions, as being planted on the occasion, to prevent his landing on the opposite bank, for nothing, excepting boats or a bridge, would have more greatly facilitated the passage of the river than placing stakes across it; neither could an army in hasty retreat have time to drive piles shod with lead into the bed of a rapid river. A so-called Coway stake is deposited in the British Museum, and may be seen there amongst the British Roman antiquities; but as it is only about the size of a man's arm, and bears no traces of lead, and is flattened on the top, this cannot be one of the *acutæ sudes* of which Cæsar speaks.

What, then, were the great permanent stakes?

(1) *Archæolog.*, ii. 141.

Mr. Barrington suggests that they are the remains of a fishing-weir, the removal of which, in the Thames and Medway particularly, the twenty-third chapter of Magna Charta directs.⁽¹⁾ But they appear to have been unnecessarily strong for that purpose, and why were these alone suffered to remain? Dr. Guest thinks "the stakes formed part of what may be called a fortified ford, and were distributed so as to stop all transit over the river, save along a narrow passage." We have heard of such arrangements elsewhere; on the Rhine, for instance, a great thoroughfare, where the high ground on both sides completely commanded the river; but we have never read of such a contrivance to extort toll in England.

Mr. Bray (editor of Manning's *Surrey*) relates that a fisherman who lived at the place called Coway stakes, told him, in 1807, he had weighed up several stakes there of the size of his thigh, about six feet long, shod with iron, and that one then remained, which they were not able to weigh, and that there were none in any other part of the river that he had ever heard of. His tradition was that they formed part of a bridge built by Julius Cæsar, and he described them as having stood in two rows, some nine feet asunder.

Now this does appear, as Mr. Lewin conjectures, the most probable solution of the difficulty respecting these stakes, viz., that they were the piles of an ancient bridge. How did the British army cross,

(1) "Ut omnes kidelli de cetero penitus deponantur de Tamisia et Medawaye et per totam Angliam."

with their thousands of chariots? Across the bridge, which was then broken up; and the piles, which were irremovable, were cut down. Clearly Cæsar did not construct a bridge there, capable as he was of doing it,⁽¹⁾ and proud as he was of his mechanical skill; for in that case why should he have forced his army through the stream? There can be little doubt that Cæsar saw the necessity for immediate action, and for striking dismay by a *coup de main*; that his attack was in front, and that the enemy's position was carried by what, in English military phraseology, is called "a rush." The swimming and fording of rivers were among the regular exercises of the Roman legionary. It happened to be an unusually dry season in Gaul⁽²⁾, and it may have been equally so in Britain. To admit of the men's heads being above the surface, there must have been about four feet and a half of water. It was a most daring attempt; and how it was done, in the teeth of the *chevaux de frise* on the opposite bank, we shall probably never learn. The general knew well the men he commanded, and he was successful.

Cæsar was now on the northern bank of the Thames, and Cassivellaunus had again abandoned all hope of successfully contending against the Roman arms in combined action. He therefore dismissed the greater part of his forces, reserving only about 4,000 *charioteers* (*essedariorum*). We may presume

The Thames
Crossed.

⁽¹⁾ *Bel. Gal.*, iv. 17.

⁽²⁾ *Bel. Gal.*, v. 24.—It was so that year in Italy. "Ego ex magnis caloribus, non enim meminimus majores." (Cicero, *Ad Q. Fratrem*, iii. 1, c. 4.)

that this expression includes 4,000 chariots. Charioteers would be of no avail without their chariots, and but one man was required to drive a chariot. Diodorus recalls to our mind that the heroes of the Trojan war used them likewise. Their chariots carried two persons—the charioteer and the combatant; there was, however, according to Tacitus, this difference; that among the Britons the driver was the superior person.⁽¹⁾ With this force he harassed the Roman line of march, his chariots darting out upon stragglers at the most inconvenient moments. He also adopted the wise precaution of sending the population and the cattle away to the woods. The 1,700 Gaulish cavalry ravaged and foraged, but they were not a match for the *essedarii*. Cæsar therefore ordered them not to stray far from the infantry; consequently the damage that they could do was limited by the capacity of the legionary soldiers to march.⁽²⁾ It is plain that the cavalry was beaten; and we learn from Cicero's correspondence that the name of a British war-car became, literally as well as metaphorically, a *nom de guerre* for anything very formidable.⁽³⁾

The object of Cæsar's long march was to arrive at the country of the people of Essex (*Trinobantes*), and to place Mandubratius on his father's throne. By repeated victories over his neighbours, Cassivellaun had acquired high renown as a warrior; hence his

(1) "Honestior auriga; clientes propugnant." (Diod., v. 301.)

(2) *Bel. Gal.*, v. 19.

(3) *Epist. ad Div.*, vii.; *Ad Trebatium*, Ep. 6—"Tu, qui cæteris cavere didicisti, in Britannia ne ad essedariis decipiari, caveto."

appointment as generalissimo. He had formerly subdued the Trinobantes, a nation or district contiguous to his own, and, according to Cæsar's account, "a most powerful people" (*firmissima civitas*). In the contest, their king Immanuentius had been slain. His son, Mandubratius, fled for his life, came to Gaul, and appealed to Cæsar for protection. It was sound policy to secure a native alliance, and the suppliant was at once taken under Roman protection. The Trinobantes sent and offered to submit to the Romans, and begged that Cæsar would send Mandubratius to rule over them, and that Cæsar would protect him from Cassivellaunus. Cæsar agreed to their terms, and ordered them to deliver forty hostages and a supply of corn for the army. By this last item it may be inferred that the wise policy of the British chieftain had produced its effect, and that the state of the Roman commissariat was low. Mandubratius, we learn from this, was with the Roman army, and doubtless he had been Cæsar's guide across the country to his former home.

The Trinobantes, now taken into amity, were protected from all injury from the Roman soldiery. This immunity induced several other states to tender their submission. These people were base enough to make known to the invader that the *oppidum* of Cassivellaunus was not far off. Upon this information Cæsar proceeded thither, and found the forest-fastness admirably fortified by nature and art. He stormed it in two points simultaneously; the Britons could not long withstand the attack of the veterans; the place

was carried; many were killed, the rest fled, and a large store of cattle was the welcome prize of the captors.

It has been conjectured that Verulam, near St. Albans, in the hundred of Cashio, may have been the town of Cassivellaun; a supposition plausible enough, but merely a supposition. It is a good site for a town, and the Romans subsequently built Verulamium there. ⁽¹⁾

Whether Casivellaun was there in person, is not mentioned; probably he was. But while these things were being done, he tried to stay the progress of the enemy by creating a diversion in the south. He sent into Cantium, and to the four kings who ruled there, and ordered them to assemble all their forces, and make a sudden attack upon the naval camp. The attempt was unsuccessful. The garrison anticipated the attack by making a sally; the men of Kent were defeated, and Lugotorix, an officer of high rank, was taken prisoner. When Cassivellaun heard the result, he abandoned farther hostile operations, and employed Commius to negotiate for him the terms of peace, which Cæsar was but too glad to accept. The summer was well advanced, and the apprehension of troubles in Gaul made him anxious to leave Britain. The conditions were very mild; hostages were to be delivered, and an annual tribute to be paid to the Roman people; and Cassivellaun was interdicted from interfering with Mandubratius or the Trinobantes.

Cæsar then led his army back to the naval camp,

(1) *Vide Camden, i. 351.*

returning, it may be assumed, by the same route, and meeting with no farther interruption. His numbers being greatly increased by the amount of prisoners, he determined to transport the army in two voyages. He awaited for some time (*aliquamdiu*) the return of the ships, as also the arrival of those which he had ordered Labienus to provide, in order to carry over the last division of the army; but very few vessels could get back, owing to the prevalence of strong head winds. Cæsar, fearful lest he should be caught by the equinoctial gales, crowded all hands on board such vessels as he had, and at the second watch (nine o'clock p.m.) in calm weather, he weighed anchor, left the shores of Britain for ever, and landed in safety as the next morning dawned.

Such were the petty results of this mighty expedition! Well may it be said that never was so considerable a force, under so consummate a general, employed for two successive campaigns to so little purpose. The Britons were no doubt far behind the Romans in discipline, and Cassivellaun may not have been a match for Cæsar in strategy; yet a more effectual resistance was made by the indomitable spirit of our ancestors than those renowned conquerors had ever experienced in any part of the globe. The vast armament—prepared at what cost—eight hundred vessels!—intended certainly for conquest and the reduction of Britain to another province of Rome—had failed entirely in its purpose. Cæsar is content with restoring Mandubratius, as if the war had been undertaken solely on his account, without leaving a

single garrison or guard to protect his interests; and how long the parting prohibition to Cassivellaun of non-interference was likely to remain in force, is not difficult to divine. ⁽¹⁾ The British commander, instead of being led a captive, treated for peace on a footing of equality. A light tribute is imposed on the country, the payment of which is at least doubtful, ⁽²⁾ and in fact the island, on the departure of the invaders, was as free as ever. Almost a century elapsed before Britain received on her shores any other Romans than peaceful merchants. The chained captives dazzled the Roman populace, and the great conqueror offered his corselet of British pearls to Venus, but the better informed of his countrymen were severe in their criticisms. Lucan, as we have seen, accused him of "turning his back on the Britons." ⁽³⁾ Tacitus writes that "he did not conquer Britain, but only showed it to the Romans." ⁽⁴⁾ Horace, calling upon Augustus to achieve the conquest, speaks of the Briton as "*intactus*," ⁽⁵⁾ and Tibullus, in the same spirit, describes him as "*invictus*." ⁽⁶⁾

⁽¹⁾ "A century afterwards we find the kings of the Catyeuchlani, the descendants of Cassivellaun, ruling over the Trinobantes." (*Vide* Mr. Lewin, p. 120, and Dr. Guest, *Athenæum*, No. 2,022, p. 115.)

⁽²⁾ "*Vacui a securibus et tributis*." (Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 34.)—Strabo, however, (lib. iv.) says that Caesar carried off hostages, slaves, and a quantity of booty.—Cicero (*Letter to Atticus*, iv. 16) contradicts this statement as to booty, and states that the Britons paid tribute (*τέλεα*), though of no great amount.

⁽³⁾ *Pharsalia*, ii. 572.

⁽⁴⁾ *Agric.*, 13.

⁽⁵⁾ "*Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet sacra catenatus viâ*." (*Epod.* vii.)

⁽⁶⁾ Lib. iv., *carm. l.*, v. 147.

Amidst the many doubts and difficulties which the terseness of the text of the *Commentaries* has created in the minds of commentators, it has been suggested that Cæsar never crossed the Thames, and that he mistook the Medway for the Thames.⁽¹⁾ This view has lately been reiterated by a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for November, 1866. The argument employed to substantiate this position is founded on the shortness of Cæsar's sojourn in Britain, which would not admit of his undertaking so extended a march as that to the Thames, and even beyond it. Certainly, if Cæsar remained only thirty-two days in Britain,⁽²⁾ he could not have done it. The fallacy of the argument lies in a confusion of dates, owing to the perplexity in calculating between the reformed and the unreformed calendar. The Julian style, or the reformation of the Roman Calendar by Julius Cæsar, did not take effect till A.U.C., 708, that is, 45 B.C.

Cæsar was in North Italy at the end of May, according to the unreformed calendar. Cicero received a letter from him, and also letters from his brother Quintus, who had gone to join Cæsar (having been appointed to the command of one of his legions), dated from Placentia and Laus⁽³⁾ (*Lodi*). Cæsar was probably then on his road to the army in Gaul. The rapidity of his movements was proverbial. M. Cicero, in another letter to Atticus, dated 28th of July, writes:

(1) Hon. Daines Barrington in *Archæol.*, ii.

(2) *Remarks on the Time employed in Cæsar's Second Expedition.* (*Archæol.*, ii. 159.)

(3) *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, ii. 15.

"From the letters of my brother Quintus, I expect that he is now in Britain;"⁽¹⁾ and no doubt Cæsar intended to have been there by that time, or as early as possible. The great preparations were designed to take something more than a glance at Britain, as in the preceding year; and he had no intention of wintering there, but casualties occurred. The Treviri had revolted, and their reduction demanded his immediate presence. It is difficult to calculate how much time was consumed in that expedition; but he hurried it over as quickly as possible, that he might not be obliged to pass the summer there.⁽²⁾ Then ensued the vexatious detention of about twenty-five days on the coast by the weather; so that it is difficult to fix the day of embarkation; but we know from a letter from Q. Cicero to his brother, written on that date, that the Roman army was actually in Britain on the 10th of August.⁽³⁾

Again, a letter from Cicero to Atticus reports this important information: "I received a letter from my brother Quintus and from Cæsar on the 24th October. Britain was disposed of, hostages received, no booty, but a tribute imposed; the letters were dated from the coast of Britain on the 26th September. They were transporting back the army from Britain."⁽⁴⁾ These

(1) "Ex Quinti fratris literis suspicor jam eum esse in Britannia." (*Ad Att.*, iv., ch. 15.)

(2) "Ne aestatem in Treviris consumere cogeretur." (*Bel. Gal.*, v. 4.)

(3) *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, iii.

(4) "Ab Quinto fratre et a Cæsare accepi a. d. ix. Kalend. Novemb. litteras; confecta Britannia, obsidibus acceptis, nulla præda, imperata tamen pecunia; datas a littoribus Britanniae, proximo a. d. vi. Kalend. Octob. Exercitum Britannia reportabant." (*Ad Attic.*, iv. 17.)

are, of course, the dates of the unreformed calendar. Cæsar left the island before the equinox, but it was very near. On the 26th he had not yet brought his troops back. It appears, therefore, from these letters, that the date of the equinox was after the 26th of September in the unreformed calendar; but it is not easy to say how much the unreformed calendar was in advance of the time. It may have been near a month, and therefore the letter of the 10th of August may belong to the middle of July, which would give Cæsar full two months in Britain; ample time for his march north of the Thames.

We do not know how long the army had been in Britain when Quintus wrote on the 10th of August; but supposing he wrote on the very day of the landing, which is not likely, his diary would run thus:—

Landing and midnight march	August 10	
Return to fleet	"	11
Repairs and fortifications (10 days)	"	21
Resumes march (Durus killed) . .	"	22
Foragers in camp attacked . . .	"	23

Then commenced the march to the river. Now Walton happens to be as nearly as possibly eighty Roman miles from Lymne; Cæsar was somewhat nearer, as he had been marching inland in that direction; perhaps seventy miles was the distance. Now, considering the care that was taken in training the legionaries to march,⁽¹⁾ and that these

(1) Vegetius (i. 9) states that the Roman soldiers sometimes marched twenty-four miles in five hours, at "double quick" pace (*gradu vel agmine citato*).

veterans had been accustomed for three years to rapid movements in Gaul (and Cæsar tells us he marched twelve miles on the night of the landing), it is not assuming too much to say that he would reach the Thames at Walton in seven days. Allowing the same number of days for returning, these, with the days previously enumerated, would amount to twenty-eight; deducting these from forty-seven (from the 10th of August to the 26th of September inclusive), that would leave a surplus of nineteen days for his operations beyond the Thames, and for his awaiting the ships on the coast.

But what reason is there for supposing that Cæsar mistook the Medway for the Thames?(¹) Mandubratius accompanied the army, and probably was his guide to his own home; Commius must have known something of Britain by this time, and Cæsar received information from his prisoners. How are the eighty miles to be reckoned from the Medway? Cæsar must be believed to be a faithful expositor of the events as they occurred, or no argument at all can be based on his records. Dr. Robson writes, "It is quite clear that to land an army of 40,000 or 50,000 men in the afternoon, and advance at midnight into a hostile

(¹) The Anglo-Saxon Chron. says: "The Welsh took large and sharp stakes, and drove them into the fording place of a certain river under water: this was the Thames." (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 292.)—The German people had always called the tribes of a different blood on their borders by the name of "Wälsche," or "Welsh." The canton of the Vallais, or Wallis, is to the German Swiss the land of those who speak French. Wälschland is Italy; Churwälsch is the Romance language of the Grisons. "Wales" is the foreign land of the Saxons: and "Cornwall" is the "Wales of the Horn."

and utterly unknown country, would be a sheer impossibility."⁽¹⁾ Cæsar tells us it was so. If he is an unfaithful historian, why quote any of the events, which are made known to us only in the *Commentaries*? But with so overwhelming a force of disciplined Roman soldiers, is it likely that Cæsar would content himself with skirmishing within a radius of thirty miles? Were the Trinobantes in Kent? and the Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and the Cassi, who tendered their submission, were they also there? If Cæsar is to be believed, he states that when Cassivellaun suggested the well-conceived plan of attacking the Roman fleet, he sent messages to *Cantium*, to the four kings who ruled there, to carry it in execution, showing thereby that he (Cassivellaun) was not in *Cantium*.

Once more: why should Cæsar have adopted the hazardous experiment of fording the Medway in the teeth of the staked bank, when a few miles lower he could have crossed it as a most insignificant stream; or if he had proceeded as far as Tunbridge, he might have avoided it altogether? This presents an additional argument against the Walmer landing. In proceeding thence to the Thames, the Medway would lie across his line of march. Mr. Durrant Cooper, in his "Notes on the Roads and Military Parts in the South-eastern District of Sussex," appended to the Astronomer Royal's Essay (*Archæol.*, xxxiv. 248), remarks: "The only route to the Thames in the eastern division of Sussex was by the way of Robertsbridge,

(¹) *Gentleman's Magazine*, November, 1866, p. 588.

Hurst Green, and Tunbridge. So it continued to be in the days of John, Henry III., and Edward I. (See *Royal Journeys, Sus. Archæol. Colls.*, iii. 132.) Near Robertsbridge there exists one of the Saxon, and most probably British, fortifications, which ran in a line from Tunbridge to the coast — Burgh-hill, now corrupted into Bugshill (on the south-west side of the N.N.W. confluent of the Rother).” We may conjecture that Cæsar thence made for Tunbridge (his best line would be to Reigate and Dorking), probably avoiding the chalk hills; thence he might go down the valley of the Mole, and thus he would come on the Thames about Hampton or Walton.

It would be interesting to have received from Cæsar’s pen a description of the weapons with which our British ancestors encountered him; and it is remarkable that on such a topic he should say so little. Of their mode of warfare, he tells us something; of their arms and equipments, next to nothing; so that we must rely on the learning and researches of antiquaries to fill up the gaps of those prehistoric times.

The earliest arms of all peoples in all lands were undoubtedly of flint and bone, like those used even at the present day by the fast-decreasing aborigines of the South Sea Islands. But experience soon taught how unequal the conflict was, when these were brought into contact with weapons of bronze, or steel, or iron. The foreign settlers in Britain had learnt this from experience, and swords and daggers,

shields and lances, have been exhumed from the graves of British warriors.

"Arma antiqua manus, ungues dentesque fuere
Et lapides, et item silvarum fragmina, rami
Et flammæ atque ignes postquam sunt cognita primum,
Posterior ferri, vis est ærisque reperta.
Et prior æris erat quam ferri cognitus usus."—*Lucretius*.

"In the infancy of nations," says Mr. Akerman (*Archæol.*, xxxiv. 171), "the weapon which served the purpose of the hunter in the chase, or which was applied to the ordinary uses and requirements of every-day life, was doubtless the only arm of a barbarous people at the time of strife. The stone hatchets, hammers, and lance-heads of peculiar races of Britain, resemble very closely the weapons found in various other parts of the world; and thus we perceive that man in his primitive state has availed himself of the same resources throughout the whole habitable globe. In all countries the stone axe and the hammer have been found."

Their shields were small; (¹) those that have been discovered are mostly about two feet in diameter. Tacitus gives a description of the swords of the islanders, when defeated by Agricola, 130 years after the first invasion. Agricola had advanced to the Grampians, where he found the Britons, to the number of 30,000, drawn up in battle array, their foot being posted in lines on the declivity, whilst the chariots and horse occupied the level plain. In the centre of his battle Agricola placed 8,000 auxiliary foot; his legions were posted in front

(¹) "*Parva scuta et enormes gladios sine mucrone.*" (*Agricola*, 36.)

of the camp; 3,000 horse were on the wings. As long as the Romans fought only with missiles, the advantage appears to have been on the side of the natives, who were able to ward them off; but on the attack of three Batavian and two Tungrian cohorts, with their pointed swords—with which the Roman legionary was trained especially to thrust, to “give point,” as Napoleon urged the cavalry of the Guard at Asperne—the Britons, whose long, ponderous swords without points, and small targets,⁽¹⁾ were but ill-fitted for close action, were compelled to give ground. On the advance of other cohorts, their horse were put to flight, and the chariots driven in disorder among the infantry. In Cæsar’s invasions, from the desultory mode of warfare pursued by the Britons, javelins no doubt were the weapons with which his legionaries were chiefly assailed; the natives, unprotected by armour, would naturally avoid, if possible, close contact with the iron wall of the Roman line of battle. On the first landing, Cæsar tells us, the natives hurled their javelins boldly (*audacter tela conjicerent*). We do not hear of bows and arrows; they may have been used only in the chase. The men wore their hair long, and probably fought with uncovered heads; for helmets have not been disinterred; and as they painted and tattooed their bodies, for the purpose of terrifying their enemies, they doubtless followed the Celtic practice of discarding all clothing in the time of personal conflict. Strabo (b. iv., c. 5) saw some British

(¹) *Agricola*.

young men at Rome. He describes them as being higher by half a foot than the tallest man there. They were loosely made, and had awkward feet. Their hair was not so yellow as that of the Gauls. With respect to the *essedæ*, or chariots, from their great number, we may infer that they were the ordinary vehicles of the country employed in domestic purposes, as well as in carrying the warrior into action. They are also called *covini*, which may be a British or Celtic term. Virgil calls them "*Belgica esseda*" (*Georg.*, iii. 204.) Cæsar does not mention the scythes with which they are generally represented as armed. These, of course, would render them more formidable, but, one would suppose, must have impeded their progress in the intricacies of the forests. Silius, however, who lived in the first century of our era, and who uses Thule as a synonym for Britain, alludes to the native custom of colouring the body with blue, and to the scythe-bearing chariots.

"Cærus haud aliter, quum dimicat, incola Thules
Agmina falcifero circumvenit arcta *covino*."—xvii. 416.

CHAPTER III.

A.D. 43. THE ROMANS AGAIN ATTACK BRITAIN—VESPASIAN AND TITUS ARRIVE—SUETONIUS—MASSACRE OF THE DRUIDS, FOLLOWED BY SLAUGHTER OF THE ROMANS, AND SUBSEQUENTLY OF THE BRITONS—BOADICEA—CARACTACUS—PICTS AND SCOTS—ABJECT CONDITION OF THE BRITONS—SAXONS—DANES—ANGLO-SAXONS—BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

It is not to be supposed that barbaric Britain—however undaunted the courage of her inhabitants—could for ever withstand the systematic attacks of Roman generals or the disciplined valour of Roman legionaries. But the civil wars which ensued, and which prepared the way for the establishment of monarchy in Rome, saved for a time the Britons from the yoke which was afterwards to be imposed upon them. Some intercourse with Rome was, however, kept up by the islanders, though on a completely independent footing. Hence, as well as through their commerce with Gaul, where the Roman power had been firmly established, they appear to have derived some tincture of Roman civilisation. The coins of Cynobelin (the Cymbeline of Shakespeare), and a successor of Cassivellaun, as well as those of Tasciomanus, probably his father, display the influence of Roman art. The mad sallies of Caligula, in which he menaced Britain with an invasion, but contented himself with the bloodless trophies of the

sea-shore, served only to expose himself and the empire to ridicule.

In A.D. 43 the Emperor Claudius sent a fleet and an army into Britain, under Aulus Plautius, to reduce the island into subjection. But Julius Cæsar was not at the head of the army, and Plautius had difficulty in persuading the troops to leave Gaul; they were highly enraged at the idea of being led to a campaign beyond the limits of the habitable world. However, the General ultimately triumphed over their prejudices, and landed with four legions, some German auxiliaries, and elephants, as it is stated.⁽¹⁾ He was successful, and took Camelodunum (*Colchester* or *Maldon*), the capital of Cynobelin's dominions, and established a military colony there. The Emperor came himself to participate in these victories. Vespasian distinguished himself in this campaign. He fought thirty battles with the natives, took twenty towns, and reduced the Isle of Wight.⁽²⁾ Titus also fought here, as military tribune under his father, and is said to have preserved his father's life, when surrounded by Britons.⁽³⁾ A fit training for the great work he was afterwards destined to accomplish.

But the island, although thus penetrated to a certain extent, and though the southern parts were occupied by the Romans, was as yet neither conquered nor reduced to peace. In A.D. 47, Ostorius Scapula

(1) Dio Cassius, lib. lx., pp. 781-2.—The bones of an elephant were found by workmen digging for gravel, in a field near Battle Bridge. (*Leland's Collect.*, i. 64.)

(2) Suetonius, *Tit.*, c. iv.

(3) Dio Cassius, lib. lx., p. 788.

was sent over to command the Roman army; and it was not till after several years of warfare with Caradoch, or Caractacus, a son of Cynobelin, that Caer-Caradoch, the royal British stronghold, situated on a hill in Shropshire, near the confluence of the Clun and Teme, was stormed and taken. The defeat and capture of Caractacus, whose appearance at Rome created peculiar exultation, and for whom an expressive speech had been composed by Tacitus,⁽¹⁾ secured the conquest.

Little seems to have been done towards the farther subjugation of Britain till the appointment of Suetonius Paulinus to the command, in the reign of Nero (A.D. 59). He resolved on the reduction of the isle of Mona (*Anglesea*), the chief seat of Druidism, and the receptacle for the disaffected Britons. The strait was crossed by the infantry in shallow vessels, while the cavalry either waded or swam. The Britons endeavoured to obstruct their landing on the sacred island, both by force of arms and the terrors of their religion. The women and priests intermingled with the warriors on the shore, and, running about with dishevelled hair, appalled the legionaries, who stood aghast, exposed to the missiles of the enemy. But Suetonius exhorting them to disregard a band of fanatics and females, they rushed to the onset, drove the Britons off the field, burned the Druids in the fires which those priests had prepared for their captured enemies, and destroyed the consecrated groves and altars.

(1) *Ann.*, lib. xii., c. 37.—Also in *Vita Agricolæ*, § 30.

Having thus trampled on the religion of the Britons, Suetonius thought his future progress would be easy. He was, however, disappointed; for even while he was thus engaged, the Britons almost succeeded in extirpating the invaders from the country. Headed by Bonducea, or Boadicea, the widowed queen of the Iceni, a multitude said to have been composed of the almost incredible number of 120,000 men, surprised the Romans, destroyed Camelodunum, Londinium, already a flourishing Roman colony, and Verulam; and slaughtered a prodigious number of the Romans, and their auxiliaries, with all the vindictive fury which the recent violation of their temples and their hearths could inspire. ⁽¹⁾

This butchery was avenged by Suetonius in a contest of despair—a great and decisive battle (A.D. 62), when 80,000 of the Britons are said to have been killed; a victory which Boadicea could not survive. ⁽²⁾ One point, however, was gained; Rome was impressed with the necessity of a mild administration, and Suetonius was recalled. Seventeen years after the revolt of Boadicea, Julius Agricola was appointed to the province of Britain, and governed it for seven years (A.D. 78—85). This great commander matured a scheme for subduing Britain, and

⁽¹⁾ *Vide Thorpe's Lappenberg's England*, i. 29.

⁽²⁾ *Tac., Ann.*, xiv. 31—37.—It is worth noting the earliest costume of a British lady on record. Boadicea is described by Dio (*Ap. Xiph.*, p. 169) as of the largest size, most terrible in aspect, and harsh of voice; having a profusion of yellow hair which descended to her hips, and wearing a large golden collar or torque, and a *χιτών*, or party-coloured tunic, drawn close about her bosom, and over this a thick mantle or cloak, fastened by a clasp.

rendering the acquisition useful to his country. After again reducing Mona, he marched into Caledonia. During these military enterprises, he neglected not the arts of peace. He introduced laws, and taught the Britons to desire and procure for themselves all the conveniences of life. He reconciled them to the Latin tongue and manners, and employed every expedient to render the chains which he had forged as little galling and light as possible. The inhabitants having experienced how unequal their own force was to resist the Romans, acquiesced in the dominion of their masters, and were gradually incorporated into the mighty empire. One of Agricola's last acts was to order his fleet to sail round Britain, starting from and returning to Portus Trutulensis ⁽¹⁾ (*Sandwich*). This—as far as we know, its first circumnavigation—proved it to be an island, of which some doubts existed.

Britain, now subdued, gave no further trouble to its conquerors. Caledonia alone, defended by its barren mountains, infested the more cultivated parts of the island by the incursions of its inhabitants. The better to secure the frontiers of the empire, Hadrian, who visited this island, built an earthen rampart between the Tyne and the Solway Firth, which has been called the Picts' Wall, and of which there are still considerable remains. Subsequently Lollius Urbicus (A.D. 140), under Antoninus Pius, erected another between the Firths of Forth and Clyde, along the same line where formerly Agricola

(1) Tacitus, *Agric.*, c. 38.

had established fortresses. This is called the Wall of Antoninus, and is now known by the name of Graham's Dyke.⁽¹⁾ To the south of this line, Britain was thoroughly Romanised, and overspread with cities, the importance of which is attested by their ruins. North of the wall dwelt Celtic tribes, who maintained for centuries a wild independence behind the successive ramparts of the Cheviot, the Lammermoor, the Ochil, and the Grampian Hills. The Romans made no attempt to conquer Ireland, although Agricola stationed forces on the western shores of Britain, with the idea of proceeding thither.

These fortifications did not prove adequate to check the incursions of the Meatae and Caledonians, who at length became so formidable that the aged Emperor Severus was called to the scene of action, and accompanied by his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, proceeded to the extremity of the island, and came to some terms with the natives, but with a considerable loss of men. He returned to York, where he shortly afterwards expired, A.D. 211. As Severus caused the fortification constructed by Hadrian to be repaired, it commonly bore his name.⁽²⁾

In the third century of our era Britain was dis-

(¹) The term "dyke," or "dike" (Anglo-Saxon *dyk*), in the Highlands is still used in the signification of a bank, constructed as a mere fence or line of demarcation. This seems a provincial sense of the word. Elsewhere it signifies either a channel to receive water, or a mound to restrain inundations. (Johnston's *Eng. Dict.*) The Scotch pronunciation of it is *deek*.

(²) *Vide* Bruce's *Roman Wall*.

turbed by new enemies, whose arrival had an incalculable influence on this country. These were the Saxon pirates, whose descents upon the eastern coast at last became so troublesome, that the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian were obliged to appoint a special officer for its defence, who, at a later period, obtained the name of Count of the Saxon Shore (*Comes littoris Saxonici*). His jurisdiction appears to have extended from Branodunum, or Brancaster, on the coast of Norfolk, to the Portus Adurni, in Sussex.

In the fourth century mention is first made of the Picts and Scots, as making their appearance in the present Scotland. It is certain that the Scots, and probably the Picts, passed over from Ireland, and reduced the earlier inhabitants to subjection.⁽¹⁾ In the year 368, under the reign of Valentinian I., they penetrated as far as London, but were repulsed by Theodosius, father of the emperor of the same name, who also recovered the district between the walls of Severus and Antoninus, which he named Valentia, after the emperor. Maximus, a member of a distinguished British family, gained great reputation in fighting against the Picts and Scots. He was, against his will, proclaimed emperor by the army, and, had he not quitted his island-realm, possibly might have retained his position; but, seduced by early success, he entertained the idea of extending his dominion by founding an empire at Trèves. He was taken prisoner at Aquileia, and put to death, A.D. 388.⁽²⁾

(1) Lappenberg, i. 55.—Garnett, *Trans. of Philological Soc.*, i. 119.

(2) Palgrave, i. 381—3.

An event connected with the history of this prince ought not to be passed over without notice—namely, the settlement of a Roman colony (*milites limitanei, læti*), consisting of British warriors in Armorica, the subsequent Brittany. But this colonisation helped to weaken Britain, which now began to be more and more infested by Scots, Picts, and Saxons.⁽¹⁾

But evil days were at hand. The queen of nations trembled on her throne. The imperial eagle, hitherto seeking its prey beyond the outskirts of the habitable world, was forced to hover in guard over its own eyrie. The British people, so long accustomed to Roman protection, had become enervated by the habit of subjection; all the male population available for military service had been withdrawn and draughted into foreign legions, true to that secret tradition of empire which consists in making one nationality watch another.

A new inroad of Picts and Scots occasioned a mission from Britain to Rome. Once more Roman troops appeared in the island; one legion is said to have been sufficient to repel the invaders.⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ Palgrave, i. 381—3.

⁽²⁾ At that period a legion consisted of 6,100 infantry, 726 cavalry, and nearly the same number of auxiliaries. Under the successors of Constantine, the number of the legions had increased from 25 to 132, but their strength had dwindled from nearly 7,000 to 1,200 men. (Veget., ii. 6.—Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 5.) Into the ranks of the *legions* none but Roman citizens could claim the privilege of admittance. The auxiliaries were composed of provincials who had not obtained the freedom of the city, or of "barbarians," whom the fate of war or the prospect of wealth had drawn into the service. These auxiliaries nearly equalled the legionaries in number. From the inscriptions on monuments, and

Having repaired the forts along the wall and the watch-towers on the sea-coasts, and instructed the natives how to make and use arms, the cohorts took their final leave, and hastened away to serve elsewhere.

The departure of the Roman forces was but the signal of renewed disasters; the enemies from the north of the island soon returned. Yet once again, in 446, a supplicating embassy was sent to Rome. Aëtius, the patrician, by his valour and magnanimity, for the time sustained the tottering ruins of the empire, and revived for a moment among the degenerate Romans the spirit as well as the discipline of their ancestors. The British ambassadors carried a letter from their countrymen, which was inscribed, *The Groans of the Britons*. The tenor of the epistle was suitable to its superscription. "The barbarians," it stated, "drive us to the sea, the sea to the barbarians; so we have only the choice left us of perishing by the sword or by the waves." ⁽¹⁾ But Aëtius, pressed by the arms of Attila, was unable to help them, and the abject Britons were reduced to despair.

from other sources, the names of thirty-three cohorts of auxiliary foot and eleven squadrons of auxiliary horse, which were stationed in Britain, have been discovered. All these were composed of foreigners; for although by the law of conscription the natives were compelled to serve, they were not permitted to remain in the island. The *Notitia Imperii* gives the titles and country of the different garrisons of the more important posts in the province at that time, and it is curious to note the various nationalities quartered in all parts of this country; the Roman camps forming generally the nucleus of subsequent towns. (See Wright's *Ethnology of S. Britain*, and Whitaker's *Manchester*, iii. 2, xxi. 2.)

(¹) Gildas, c. xvii.—Nennius, c. xxvii.—Beda, i. 19.

So passed away the dominion of the Romans in Britain, after it had existed for about 400 years. True it is, as Macaulay observes, "no magnificent remains of Latian porches and aqueducts are to be found in Britain," but Roman works in England still defy the withering effects of time. The wall of Severus—the last legacy of the legionaries—is still to be traced; Roman roads are even now pointed out as triumphs of engineering skill, and amphitheatres and villas—some in process of discovery—attest that the hardy conquerors of the world disdained not to plant their comforts and their luxuries in this land, at first supposed to be full of mysterious horrors; and our hill-country retains indelible marks of earthworks and walls, which still remain to tell the tale of the strong hands of that stubborn soldiery who never halted for a night without entrenching a camp, which seemed constructed to last for ever.

The spectacle which Britain now presented is one of the saddest in the history of the world; a nationality destroyed by Roman lust of conquest, and the consequent annihilation of the power of resistance; a nation without men, and a people without courage. The descendants of those who had defied Cæsar and his legions could not stem the incursion of a horde of undisciplined robbers; an illustration of the extent to which national spirit may be broken and enervated by subjection to strangers. After the Roman legions left the Britons to themselves, there is darkness over the face of the land from the fifth to the eighth century. Those are

really our dark ages. From 420, when it is supposed that Honorius withdrew his troops, to 730, when Bede wrote, we see nothing of British history. So completely, indeed, had our island relapsed into the cloud of fable, that Procopius told the people of Constantinople that there was one province of it in which the ground was covered with serpents, and the air was such that no man could inhale it and live; and to this desolate region the spirits of the departed were ferried over from the land of the Franks at midnight. Afar off we hear the shock of arms; but all is dim, as it were, when two mighty hosts do battle in the dead of night. When the dawn comes, and the black veil is lifted, we find that Britain has passed away. The land is now England. ⁽¹⁾

The people to whom the Britons had applied for assistance were that roving race whose acquaintance had been so unpleasantly made while infesting the British coasts as pirates. Of course the invitation was accepted with alacrity; the proffered opportunity of admittance within the British fold was tempting. The Saxons are described as men of lofty stature, and the most cruel and dangerous enemy, despising danger, delighting in tempests. ⁽²⁾ Their name bore terror with it. ⁽³⁾ With such auxiliaries, the Picts and Scots were soon driven back to their own barren regions. The natural impulse of such a race, probably of any other, would be to rule instead of

⁽¹⁾ *Vide North British Review*, No. lxxxii., 285.

⁽²⁾ Sidonius, viii. 6.

⁽³⁾ "Saxones præ cæteris hostibus timentur." (Amm. Mar., xxviii. p. 526.)

to defend; and so, like faithless shepherds, they turned upon the sheep, which they were brought over to protect. Little by little, by stubbornness and energy rather than by bloodshed, they spread themselves over the land. In all likelihood, the din of the battles between Celt and Saxon, of which those gloomy centuries are full, rose rather towards their close, when the Saxons had multiplied and grown to be a mighty power in Britain. For a while the Celtic and Saxon kings in various parts of the island lived together on terms of perfect equality; but in due course, the weakest must go to the wall. The Saxons were the stronger. They began by winning their way to an equality with the Celts; they ended by overpowering them altogether. This struggle for supremacy was prolonged for some time, during that twilight period in our history denominated the Saxon Heptarchy; but towards the close of it the Saxons had mastered their foes. In Egbert's time they are really lords in England. One thing is certain: the incessant conflicts with these foemen at home had revived the courage of the Britons. For near a century and a half, with resolute bravery, they had withstood the whole power of the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles.

By a wise compensation, another scourge of the sea-coasts appears, and avenges the wrongs of the Celts. These are the Northern nations, Norsemen and Danes, a race the most forward and daring that the world has ever seen; invaders from every bay and firth in the Baltic and the Scandinavian Peninsula, in

*Incursion of
the Danes.*

race and language closely connected with the Anglo-Saxon. Their proper designation is "Viking," because *vik* in their common speech meant bay, which lingers in our Sandwich, Berwick, and Greenwich.⁽¹⁾ Towards the close of the eighth century they inspired the same terror which the Anglo-Saxons had done in the fifth. They are said to have first landed in England about the time of Egbert. Their course was marked by blood and fire. The account of their appearance in the Saxon chronicle is one of *naïve* simplicity:—"An. 787. This year King Beorhtric took to wife Eadburg, King Offa's daughter; and in his days first came three ships of Northmen out of Hæratha-land. And then the reeve rode to the place, and would have driven them to the King's town, because he knew not who they were, and there they slew him. These were the first ships of the Danish men

(1) The Anglo-Saxon *wic*, the Latin *vicus*, was a town or dwelling, and it may probably be the same word as the Icelandic *vik*, a small creek or bay. Mr. Taylor (*Words and Places*) remarks that the inland "wicks" in English names are generally of Saxon origin, whilst those on the coast denote the stations of the Scandinavian sea-rovers. The difference between the "vik" and a "fiördr" is well shown by an Icelandic proverb, which says that there ought to be a creek (*vik*) between friends, but a frith (*fiördr*) between kinsmen. "London," says he, "was repeatedly besieged by the Danes. Their stations were at *Deptford*, 'the deep fiord;' at *Greenwich*, 'the green reach;' and at *Woolwich*, 'the hill reach;' apparently from its being overhung by the conspicuous landmark of Shooter's Hill. The spits and headlands, which mark the navigation of the Thames and the adjacent coasts, almost all bear characteristic Norse names—such as the *Foreness*, the *Whiteness*, *Shelliness*, *Sheerness*, *Shooburness*, and the *Naze* near Harwich. On the Essex coast we find *Danesey* flats, *Langenhoe*, and *Arlesford*; *Dengey* hundred, in the S.E. of Essex, is spelt *Daneing*, in a charter of Edward the Confessor." (Pp. 171, 172.)

which sought the land of the English race." (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 336.)

The odious danegelt was levied to purchase immu-
 nity from these ruthless marauders, but they wassailed
 away the money, and returned for more. The memory
 of the wrong was perpetuated by the tax, which con-
 tinued to be levied long after the occasion for its
 imposition had passed away. Neustria, one of the
 fairest provinces of France, was wrested in 911 from
 the King by Rollo and his Normans (Northmen);
 hence the name of Normandy, from which a century
 and a half later was to issue that mighty host of a
 conquering race which terminated Anglo-Saxon rule
 in England. So that the early annals of England
 are fast bound to those of the Northern kingdoms
 —bound often with chains, in misery and iron. But
 great nations are always the result of mixtures, and
 these Teutonic races mingling in time with the Celtic
 blood, produced the manly, tall, broad-shouldered,
 deep-chested English people, still rough and distinct
 as their aboriginal fathers.

"Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos."

The Anglo-Saxons introduced into this island the
 first approach to a regular military establishment. By
 their laws, every able-bodied adult male was compelled
 to serve his country, and present himself in military
 array in case of invasion, civil commotion, or any
 emergency endangering the peace or safety of the
 realm. A threefold obligation—*trinoda necessitas*, as
 it is termed in ancient books—that is to say, the repair
 of bridges and the making of high roads, the building

First Military
 Establishment

of castles and fortifications, and military service, became essentially a part of the ancient and customary law of the land, and from this obligation no one was exempt; a happy theory enough, the advantages of the community superseding all privileges.

The clergy were generally exempted from personal military service; their estates were, however, chargeable to the *trinoda necessitas*. But even this obligation was annulled by the easy piety of Ethelwulf (855) not only in his own dominions, but in those of the kings, his vassals. The clergy, however, during the invasion of the Danes, had the patriotism to waive this valuable privilege; and there is extant a charter in which Bahred, King of Mercia (868), publicly thanks them for having spontaneously furnished that military aid, to which they were no longer liable by law.⁽¹⁾ These exemptions sufficiently show the existence of military service towards the commencement, while Domesday fully confirms it at the close of the Saxon government.

The feudal system and chivalry were originated by the northern nations, and their introduction here is traceable at an early period. The denominations of knights and vassals (*milites, vassalli*) are met with in the time of King Alfred. For William of Malmesbury tells how that renowned Saxon made his grandson Athelstan "a belted knight," and recounts the ceremonies of investiture. He describes the aged king, as his feudal lord, dedicating the neophyte to the noble profession of arms, by giving him a scarlet

⁽¹⁾ Ingulph, xvii. 21.—Lingard, vol. i., ch. vii.

mantle, a jewelled belt, and a sword with a golden sheath; ⁽¹⁾ a departure from the ancient German usage of qualifying a youth for military service by a decree of the people.

In the formation of Anglo-Saxon armies, all who were capable of bearing arms in one family were led to the field by the head of that family. In the patriarchal constitution, the "eldest" was synonymous with the chief, and hence may be recognised the official title of ealdorman (*senior, senator*). "The ealdorman in the shire, like the Frankish *graff*, was the military leader of the *hereban*, *posse comitatus* or *levy en masse* of the freemen; and, as such, could command their services to repel invasion, or to exercise the functions of the higher police; as a noble of the first rank, he had armed retainers, thanes, or comites of his own; but his most important functions were those of leader of the armed force of the shire. Throughout the Saxon times we read of ealdormen at the head of particular counties, doing service in the field."⁽²⁾ The ealdorman was solemnly girded with a sword. As an *ætheling* stands on the same level as an archbishop, so the ealdorman and bishop are considered of equal rank.⁽³⁾

Anglo-Saxon
Armies.

"According to a most ancient custom of the Germanic nations, the arms (*heregeatus armatura bellica*, which have continued even to our day under the name of *heriot*) delivered by the king to the ealdorman as

⁽¹⁾ Lib. ii., p. 210, edit. Hardy.

⁽²⁾ Kemble's *Saxons in England*, ii. 137.

⁽³⁾ Lappenberg's *England under the Anglo-Saxons*, by Thorpe, ii. 313.

well as to his other military chieftains, reverted on the death of the receiver to the king; and for them, by the laws of Canute, a fixed relief or gift out of the heritage, or from the heirs, was substituted, which for an ealdorman consisted in four saddled and as many unsaddled horses, four helmets, four coats of mail, eight spears, eight shields, four swords, and 200 mancuses of gold. Among other Germanic tribes, the heriot, at an earlier period, fell to him who inherited the land or fief of the ancestor; and in England also, at a later period, the payment or redemption, on the death of the last possessor, was, with a total disregard of the original object, converted into a pecuniary burthen on the successor on taking possession of the estate." (1) By the law of Canute, the payment of the heriot was altogether remitted to the family of him who fell fighting in the field in the presence of his lord.

The title of eorl occurs in early times in the laws of the Kentish kings, but it became general only in the Danish times, and is probably of Jutish origin. The new constitution introduced by Canute reduced the ealdorman to a subordinate position. Over several counties he placed one eorl, or earl. The king ruled by his earls and hus-carlas, (2) and the ealdorman

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 314.

(2) These were a kind of household troops, mercenaries, originally Danish soldiers, and the only regular and professional soldiers of the period. Their weapons were the axe, the halbard, and the sword. In imitation of the King, the great nobles surrounded themselves with a body-guard of hus-carlas; and they continued to exist as a regal establishment after the Conquest. In Canute's time the number of these mercenaries is reckoned by some at 3,000, by others at 6,000.

vanished from the counties. Under Canute and the following Danish kings, this old title ceases altogether, except in the cities, where it denotes an inferior judicature, much as it does among ourselves at the present day.

The other followers or retainers (*comites*) of the Thanes. Anglo-Saxon military leaders were the thanes, a class in which the ealdormen were also comprised. The thanes are not to be reckoned among those originally noble by birth, notwithstanding their higher *wergild* (or pecuniary valuation which was set on every individual), by which they were distinguished from the mere freemen, but are to be regarded as only gradually becoming noble. Among this nobility by service, the immediate thanes of the king were the highest in degree. Thethane was constantly bound to military service, and obliged, as is evident from his heriot, to appear on horseback.

The *gréfa*, or *reeve*, was the most general name Sheriff. for the fiscal and executive officer among the Anglo-Saxons. The *scirgréfa*, or sheriff, was, as his name denotes, the person who stands at the head of the shire. He is, properly speaking, the holder of the county court, *scirgemót* or *folcmót*, and probably at first was its elected chief. Usually the court was held under the presidency of the ealdorman and bishop, and of the *scirgréfa*, whose later title was *vicecomes*, and who was originally the ealdorman's deputy; but it appears that in course of time the presence of the ealdorman could be dispensed with, but that of the *scirgréfa* was necessary, so that it became the

sheriff's court. He was also the principal fiscal officer in the county, from whose jurisdiction even the archbishop himself was not exempt.⁽¹⁾ The sheriff was naturally the leader of the militia, *posse comitatus*, or levy of free men, who served under his banner, as the different lords with their dependents served under the royal officers, the church vassals under the bishop's or abbot's officer, and all together under the chief command of the ealdorman or duke. It was his business to summon them, and to command them in the field, during the period of their service; and he thus formed the connecting link between the military power of the king and the military power of the people, for purposes both of offence and defence.

The division of the country into tens and hundreds (tythings and hundreds) probably originated in the old military constitution, which was essentially an alliance formed for mutual protection, each probably comprising respectively a corresponding number of members, together with the necessary officers, viz., a tithing man for each tithing, and a hundred-man for the hundred. The fluctuating state of the population, however, necessarily occasioned great changes with respect to all offices based on numerical relations; and therefore, in process of time, these divisions became simply territorial, and at the present day we hear of tithings and hundreds where there are more, and where there are fewer people. In Kent there are several hundreds united, under the appellation of *lathes*, which had the jurisdiction of hundreds, and in

(1) Kemble's *Saxons*, ii. 164.

which may be recognised the northern *lathing*, or military levy. In Sussex is found the division into six *rapes*.⁽¹⁾ It does not appear that to this division any jurisdiction was annexed which belonged to the hundred. In the shires of York and Lincoln a division into three parts took place, called *treking* or *treding*, whence apparently the modern ridings of the first-mentioned county.⁽²⁾

Saxon freemen—like their ancestors, of whom Tacitus writes, "They never transacted any business in public nor in private without being armed"⁽³⁾—seem universally to have borne arms. In death they were not parted from them, as being the possession most highly valued by the deceased. In the interior of Anglo-Saxon barrows, numerous remains of spears and javelins, of a variety of shapes and sizes, have been discovered. "So constantly do we find them in the Saxon graves," says Mr. Roach Smith, "that it would appear no man above the condition of a serf was buried without one. Some are of a large size, but the majority come under the designation of javelin, or dart." The spear-head lies beside the skull; there are, however, instances of the spear-point being found reversed, at the feet of the warrior, and the iron boss of the shield on his breast. At

Saxon
Weapons.

(1) Ellis, i. 180.—"The rapes of Sussex yet preserve the memory of the old Icelandic division of the land by 'Hreppar.' The verb 'rebe' in Danish still means 'to measure out' or 'survey,' and is derived from the use of the 'reb,' or rope for that purpose." (See *Words and Places*, by Rev. Isaac Taylor, M.A., London, 1864.)

(2) Thorpe, ii. 330.

(3) "Nihil neque publicæ neque privatæ rei nisi armati agunt."

Little Wilbraham, the Hon. R. C. Neville disinterred some in this position.⁽¹⁾ The sword is comparatively seldom found beside the skeleton, or between his legs; sometimes, but rarely, the iron frame of a skull-cap or helmet is found about the head. A plate, in Douglas's *Nenia Britannica*, represents the discovery of one of the most ancient of the Kentish barrows. The grave contained the body of a male adult, holding in his right hand a spear, the wooden shaft of which had of course perished, leaving only the iron blade, fifteen inches in length. An iron knife lay by the right side,⁽²⁾ with remains of the original handle of wood. Adhering to its under-side were very discernible impressions of decayed coarse linen cloth, showing that the warrior had been buried in full costume. An iron sword is on the left side, thirty-five and a quarter inches in its entire length, from the point to the bottom of the hilt, which is all in one piece, the woodwork which covered the grip having perished; the blade is thirty inches in length, and two in breadth, flat, double-edged, and sharp-pointed. It was evidently buried in a scabbard, the external covering being of leather, the internal of wood. A leathern strap passed round the waist, from which hung the knife and sword; and which was

(1) *Saxon Obsequies*.—See also Hewitt's *Ancient Armour*, i. 30.

(2) Some etymologists derive the name "Saxon," applied to these people, from the *seax*, or short sword, or knife, with which they were armed. ("Seax ensis quidem curvatus."—Kemble's *Gloss.* to *Beowulf*.) No warriors are found without these knives, which may have been the prototypes of the daggers worn in the same way by those of the Middle Ages.

secured by the brass buckle, which was found near the last bone of the vertebræ. Between the thigh-bones lay the iron umbo of a shield, which had been fastened by studs of iron. A thin plate of iron, four and a half inches in length, lay exactly under the centre of the umbo, having two rivets at the end, between which and the umbo were the remnants of the original wooden, and perhaps hide-bound, shield.

The poem of Beowulf, which the concurrent opinion of the best Northern scholars has assigned to the eighth century, speaks of "the broad shield, yellow rimmed." It is sometimes called a "war-board;" and in another place we read that it was made of linden-wood:—

"He could not then refrain, but grasped his shield,
The yellow linden, drew his ancient sword."

Leather, made of bulls' hides, was sometimes used in the construction of shields. By the laws of Athelstan, any shield-maker covering a shield with sheepskins, forfeited thirty shillings. From an illumination in the Cottonian MS., *Cleopatra*, c. viii., it appears that the Anglo-Saxon horseman carried his shield, when not in use, slung at his back. Of Harold's nobles, Wace tells us:—

"Chescun ont son haubert vestu,
Espée ceinte el col l'escu."—*Rom. de Rou.*, ii. 213.

The spear shaft is almost always spoken of as being of ash; indeed, the word *æsc* (ash) is used by metonymy for a spear, in a passage of Beowulf, line

3,535, as it is ordinarily in the *Iliad* of Homer, Πηλιάδα μέλην. The spears were of two kinds; a longer one in use among the cavalry, and a shorter one, which might serve as a javelin, or for the thrust at close quarters. The blades are always of iron, and have a longitudinal opening in the socket. Their length is various, but they usually range from ten to fifteen inches. In Anglo-Saxon graves, the spears occur in much greater numbers than any of the other weapons. The cemetery at Little Wilbraham, before mentioned, produced thirty-five spears, but only four swords.

The axe, although not often represented in illuminations, and very rarely found in graves, was certainly extensively in use in the latter part of the Anglo-Saxon period, and was perhaps introduced by the Danes. The house-carles of Canute, as has been already mentioned, were armed with them.

A description of these arms, and of others in use during the Anglo-Saxon period, is supplied in Mr. Hewitt's careful and comprehensive work, *Ancient Armour*, part i.

Saxon Troops.

The greater part of the Anglo-Saxon forces consisted of infantry; the cavalry was chiefly composed of thanes, and such men of property as kept horses. The horsemen are frequently delineated in ancient MSS., the chief-men appearing only to have used stirrups, and with no other defensive armour than a helmet; their weapon a spear.⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ MS. of Prudentius, Cotton. Library, *Cleopatra*, c. viii., fols. 1 and 2.

We gather, however, from the Anglo-Saxon poets, that in the earlier days of Northern rule, none but leaders wore a body-defence; but as years rolled on, and prosperity increased, the habit became more general; and at the expiration of the Saxon era, most of the warriors in the battle of Hastings are represented in the Bayeux tapestry with a coat of fence. In *Beowulf* we read of "the war byrnie shone, hard hand-locked, the bright ring-iron sang in their trappings, in their terrible armour,"⁽¹⁾ "the war-byrnie, twisted with hands,"⁽²⁾ "the war-dress, the locked battle-shirt,"⁽³⁾ evidently referring to the hauberk of interlinked chain-mail.⁽⁴⁾

Other kinds of body-armour were worn. Ingulphus tells us that Harold, finding the heavy armour of his troops an incumbrance in the mountain warfare with the Welsh, clothed them in a defence of leather only. This leathern armour appears to have consisted in overlapping flaps, generally stained of different colours, and cut into the shape of scales or leaves; it is called *corium* by some of the writers in the succeeding century, and *corietum* in the Norman laws. "It was most probably," says Mr. Planché,⁽⁵⁾ "copied from the Normans; for in the Bayeux tapestry we perceive it worn by Guy, Count of Ponthieu, and Odo, Bishop of Bayeux; and it continued in use in England as late as the thirteenth century."

(1) Canto i., line 640.

(2) *Ibid.*, xxii.

(3) *Ibid.*, xxi., line 2,882.

(4) *Vide Ancient Armour*, i. 62.

(5) *History of British Costume*.

The leg-bands, so frequently represented on Saxon figures, were in common use among the soldiery.⁽¹⁾ In the Apennines, the Contadini still wear a kind of stocking bandaged up their legs, and the custom survives in the chequered hose of the Scottish Highlanders.

The kings commonly wore their crowns in battle, which also in some measure answered the purpose of a helmet. Some interesting relics of this period are preserved in the collection of the Hon. Robert Curzon at Parham, Sussex; viz., a helmet dug up at Oxford, together with a bell bearing date A.D. 650, a double-headed axe, and a spear-head. The helmet is of the time of Alfred. Date 900. (*Plate II.*)

Battle of
Hastings.

The Anglo-Saxon mode of drawing up their armies was in one large dense body, surrounding their standard, and their infantry with heavy battle-axes in front. This was the plan of the English at the battle of Hastings. Harold had taken up a strong position; and notwithstanding the short interval between his arrival from the north and the morning of the battle, he had not neglected to fortify it. According to Wace, "he had the place surrounded by a good fosse, leaving an entrance on each of their sides, which were ordered to be kept well guarded."⁽²⁾ Within stood the English, "like a castle, impenetrable to the Normans," says Henry of

(1) See MS. of Prudentius, in the Tenison Library. Date, at the beginning of the eleventh century.

(2) *Roman. de Rou.*

No. 2.



Helmet dug up at Oxford ; together with a Bell of the date A.D. 650, a double-headed Axe, and a Spear Head. The Helmet is of the time of Alfred. (Parham Collection.)

Huntingdon.⁽¹⁾ "All were on foot," writes another chronicler, "armed with battle-axes; and, covering themselves in front by the junction of their shields, they formed an impenetrable body (*impenetrabile cuneum*), which would have secured their safety that day, had not the Normans, by a feigned flight, induced them to open their ranks, which till that time, *according to their custom*, were massed together."⁽²⁾

It is evident that the loss of the battle was owing to the wound which Harold received in the afternoon, and which must have incapacitated him for effective command. He had himself just won the battle of Stamford Bridge over Harald Hardrada by the manœuvre of a feigned flight; it is difficult to suppose that he could be deceived by the same stratagem on the part of the Normans. His troops, when deprived of his control, would very naturally be led, by their inconsiderate ardour, into the pursuit that proved so fatal to them.⁽³⁾

There are few early battles the localities of which can be more completely traced than those of this one.⁽⁴⁾ The crumbling fragments of the grey altar stones of the old abbey, with the wild flowers that cling around them, are fitting memorials of the brave Saxon who there bowed his head in death.

(1) "Haroldus totam gentem suam in una acie strictissime locasset, et quasi castellum inde construxisset, impenetrabiles erant Normannis." (Lib. vii.)

(2) Malmesbury, lib. iii., § 241. (Vol. ii., p. 414; edit. Eng. Hist. Soc.)

(3) Creasy's *Fifteen Decisive Battles*, p. 307.

(4) *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vi. 15.

Passing by well-described details, we arrive at the epoch of the Norman conquest, an event which our contemporary forefathers could regard only as deplorable. "England, what shall I say of thee?" exclaims the historian of the Church of Ely;⁽¹⁾ "what shall I relate to our descendants? Woe to thee! thou hast lost thy national king, and thou hast fallen into the hands of the foreigner; thy sons have perished miserably, thy counsellors and thy chiefs are conquered, dead, or disinherited." We, however, must look back upon the event with thankfulness, as the remote origin of our own peculiar character and power.

A sluggish, sensual, and degenerate race was refined and elevated by the advent of the chivalrous Norman. The Anglo-Saxon people, vanquished and crushed down to the lowest depth of serfdom, found in the conquest itself—that penalty of national crime—the germ of a nobler vitality. "War," says Thucydides, "is a stern teacher,"⁽²⁾ sternest of all when a nation, trampled under foot by an insolent and victorious foe, lives only to feel the degradation of servitude and the bitterness of life. Yet, after ages of oppression and misery, that nation, purified as by the refiner's fire, emerged to a new and brighter career. To the infusion of Norman blood at that disastrous epoch, we owe many a marvellous achievement of England's prowess; the untarnished laurels of St. Vincent and Plassey; of Minden and Albuera.

⁽¹⁾ *Hist. Eccles. Eliensis*, lib. ii., p. 44, *apud Rer. Anglic. Script.* (Gale), iii. 516.

⁽²⁾ "Ο πολέμος βίαιος διδάσκαλος. (*Hist.*, lib. iii.)

CHAPTER IV.

A.D. 1066.—THE NORMANS — FEUDAL SYSTEM — KNIGHTS' FEES — ILL-TREATMENT OF THE ENGLISH—CLERGY AND WOMEN ALONE EXEMPTED FROM PERSONAL MILITARY SERVICE—WARLIKE TASTES OF THE CLERGY.

A REVOLUTION so extensive as that produced by the Norman Rule. arrival of the Normans in England, one which extinguished the dynasty of the native kings, and imposed foreign masters on the people, must necessarily have effected most important alterations in the whole policy of the kingdom. Under the government of the Conqueror, the liberty of the subject was very different from what it had been under his Anglo-Saxon predecessors; and therefore we find that in all complaints made to the Crown on the score of feudal severities, previous to the grant of Magna Charta, a constant desire is expressed for a return of the mild laws of Edward the Confessor.⁽¹⁾ These laws, the mere promise of which sufficed to quell insurrections, each successive sovereign from William down to John swore to observe and maintain; but the English found themselves invariably deceived, and the good times of King Edward never returned.

The feudal system, though not altogether a Norman importation, was very different from the polity

(1) "Ils requierent estre tenus et gouvernez comme le roy Edouart les avoit gouvernez." (*Chron. de Normandie*, xiii. 239.)

which had existed in this country before the conquest, and the severity of its administration elicited the groans of the subjected people. It is not the intention here to attempt an elaborate description of it, but to deal with it only in exposition of its immediate influence on the military policy of this country.

It had its origin among the Northern nations,⁽¹⁾ as has already been noticed; it is, therefore, easy to account for its early introduction here. The primary object with all nations is self-defence; and to attain this there must necessarily be a close confederation and a relinquishment of some private rights for the sake of public safety.⁽²⁾ This was what brought the feudal system into existence, a natural consequence of the state of society. The king or general who led to conquest, would have at his disposal the enemy's territory; and as the best means of securing the new acquisition, and at the same time of rewarding his officers, he would proceed to allot districts, or parcels of land, to the deserving men of his army on easy terms. They, if they chose it, might follow the chief's example, and divide their allotments into smaller portions, but with the understanding that those who took them were bound by the same obligations as themselves. These allotments were called *feoda* in Latin, or *feuds*, *fiefs*, or *fees*, a term which in the Northern language signified a conditional stipend or reward.⁽³⁾ The condition an-

(¹) Sir W. Temple's *Intro. to Hist. of England*, p. 516.

(²) Robertson's *Charles V.*, i. p. 14.

(³) *Feodum*, according to Wachter (*Gloss. German*), is compounded of *od*, possession or estate; and *feo*, wages, pay.—Thierry also derives

nexed,—and it was a rent the easiest to be defrayed—was, that the holder should do faithful service in arms to him by whom the grant was made; for which purpose he took the *juramentum fidelitatis*, or oath of fealty, on breach of which the land was to revert to the grantor. A feudal kingdom, consequently, was a military establishment, and not a civil institution; and every freeman became bound to take arms in defence of the community, or to suffer heavy penalties in default. In the early Norman period, the term “free service” is used as equivalent to military service, no other tenure being recognised by which a *liber homo* could hold his land.⁽¹⁾

Now this was what William of Normandy proceeded to do on the conquest of England. The numerous claims of those who had accompanied him (to most of whom the acquisition of land was the great inducement for coming over) were, doubtless, such as he could not with safety or honour overlook; and moreover, it certainly would appear the best policy, that amidst a thoroughly hostile population, he should spread abroad and place in territorial jurisdiction those who had followed his fortunes. This measure was facilitated by the great slaughter of the Anglo-Saxon nobility at the battle of Hastings; and the frequent and fruitless insurrections of those who survived

it from *feh* and *odh*. (*Lettres sur l'Hist. de France*, lett. x.)—Guizot, also, and Du Cange.—See Notes in Hallam's *Mid. Ages*, ii. 314.

(¹) “Volumus . . . ut omnes liberi homines totius monarchiæ regni nostri habeant et teneant terras suas et possessiones suas bene et in pace, . . . ita quod nihil ab eis exigatur vel capiatur nisi servitium suum liberum, quod de jure nobis facere debent,” &c. (*Carta Regis Wilhelmi Conquisitoris*.)

caused such numerous forfeitures to accrue, that he was enabled to substitute his Norman adventurers in place of the dispossessed proprietors, many of whom left the country in despair,⁽¹⁾ whilst others declared that God would no longer permit them to be a nation.⁽²⁾ All were obliged to seek the king and buy their lands, and it might happen that an unfortunate Angle would find himself outbid by a Norman competitor, or that he had to subserve on the lands where he had been proprietor. In the Buckinghamshire Domesday, *e.g.*, "Ailric holds four hydes of William Fitzansculf. . . . The same held it in the time of King Edward, and now holds it in farm of William, *graviter et miserabiliter*." The result was that in less than twenty years the greatest portion of the country was in the hands of the conquering race.⁽³⁾

The first "*beneficia*" or rewards, then, in the shape of grants of land which William would have been enabled to confer after the conquest upon his adherents, would be taken out of the demesne lands of the crown, or from the estates of those Anglo-Saxons who had fallen in battle, or who had fled their homes. The rest of the native occupants were left in undisturbed possession of the legal state to which they were before entitled.⁽⁴⁾ So far he was only

(1) "Cum dominis suis odiosi passim pellerentur, nec esset qui ablata restitueret, . . . exosi et rebus spoliati, ad alienigenas transire cogebantur." (*Dial. de Scaccario*, in notis ad Matth. Paris.)

(2) "Salutem et honorem genti Anglorum . . . abstulerit, et jam populum non esse jusserit." (Matth. Westm.—Flores, *Hist.*, p. 229.)

(3) Madox, *Bar. Angl.*, b. i., ch. ii.

(4) *Rot. Scaccar.* Norman obs., p. xvii.—Mr. Hallam says that an examination of *Domesday Book* will prove that it is a mistaken

acting according to precedent, and carrying out the acknowledged right of conquest.

It is possible, and indeed probable, that William, who did not wish to be considered an usurper, but as one who claimed his inheritance, would have continued the mild code of his predecessors; in fact, he formally restored and confirmed the laws of the Confessor,⁽¹⁾ but that the unceasing hostility of the Anglo-Saxons drove him to enforce and preserve with the sword what he had won by the sword. As the best means to effect his purpose, he introduced the system of "Knights' Fees," a superstructure on the old simple feudal law, of which he may have been the inventor, or which possibly he may have witnessed in operation on the other side of the water.⁽²⁾

Mere military colonists (the effect of grants of land upon military conditions) would doubtless supply a considerable amount of national defence; these, however, must become incapacitated for service in course of time, or pretexts might be made in order to keep themselves at home; now the knights' fees provided for any such contingency.

On the assumption "that the king is the universal lord and original proprietor of all the lands in the

supposition that few of English birth continued to hold entire manors. They formed a large proportion of nearly 8,000 *mesne* tenants, who are summed up by the diligence of Sir Henry Spelman. (See *Mid. Ages*, ii., ch. vii.; p. 305.)

(¹) *LL. Edward Reg.*, ap. Wilkins, p. 197.—*Chart. Guil. de Leg. Edw. Regis*, ap. Spelm.—*Cod. Leg. Vet.*, p. 290.—See also Stuart's *View of Society*, p. 98.

(²) Montesquieu, *Spirit of the Laws*, b. 31, c. 8; quoted in Chitty's *Blackstone*, ii., b. ii., ch. iv.—Also, Hallam's *Mid. Ages*, i. 162.

kingdom" ⁽¹⁾—a fiction in reality, as Blackstone observes—William I. divided the country into upwards of 60,000 military allotments, or fees. ⁽²⁾ The holding of these was termed *tenure by knight service*; in Latin, *servitium militare*, and in law French, *chivalry*, or *service de chevaler*, answering to the *fief d'haubert* of the Normans. ⁽³⁾ Money having a general tendency to decrease in value, so therefore the money value of land would increase, especially as it was brought into cultivation; at all events, it was calculated as sufficient for the maintenance of the feoffee. ⁽⁴⁾ In 1235 (19th Henry III.), "all who

⁽¹⁾ "Tout fuit in luy, et vient de luy al commencement." (M. 24 Edw. III. 65; quoted in *Blackstone*, vol. ii., b. ii., ch. iv.)

⁽²⁾ "He distributed land to his soldiers, and so arranged their different classes, that the kingdom of England had constantly 60,000 knights at the command of the King, and whom he could at once muster, if occasion required." (Order. Vital., p. 523.)—"Four hydes made one knight's fee. The relief of a barony was twelve times greater than that of a knight's fee, whence we may conjecture its usual value." (Spelman, *v. Feodum*.)—"There are 243,600 hydes in England, and 60,215 knights' fees, which would give a little more than four hydes to each fee." (Hume, *Hist. of England*, ii., App. ii., p. 116.)—A hyde was composed of 100 acres: "Hyda a primitiva institutione in centum acris constat." (*Dialogus de Scaccario*, p. 31.)—Mr. Kemble has, however, shown that a hyde cannot be taken as an invariable measure. It is not, however, to be supposed that a barony was necessarily twelve times the size of a knight's fee. An instance from Madox will show this: "Henry Lescrop, Chivaler, held the manor of Whalton, in Northumberland, with the barony of the King in chief, by the service of three knights' fees." (p. 39.)

⁽³⁾ Spelman, p. 219.

⁽⁴⁾ In the reign of Stephen, the manor of Berkely was granted by Henry, Duke of Normandy, afterwards Henry II., to Robert Fitz Harding, to be held by the service of one knight for 100 shillings at the election of the tenant; and the same manor was re-granted, a few years later, to the same tenant, to be held by the service of five knights." (See evidence upon the Berkeley Peerage Case, 1859; *Smyth's Account of the Berkeleys*, by Fosbrooke, pp. 69, 71.)

held of the king in chief *one knight's fee*, or more, were ordered to take upon themselves the honour of knighthood;"⁽¹⁾ and by the 28th Henry III., "all who had *twenty pounds of land* were required to enter themselves as knights."⁽²⁾ By the 40th, same reign, "all who held fifteen *librates of land*" (a *librate* was probably land of the value of £1 per annum), doubtless the measure of a knight's fee, "are to be knighted." In Edward I.'s reign, the value had risen to £30, or thirty *librates of land*; ⁽³⁾ and in Edward II.'s, to £40 a year. ⁽⁴⁾ Selden contends, and with great probability, that a knight's fee did not consist of land of a fixed extent or value, but was as much as the king was pleased to grant upon the condition of having the service of one knight (*Titles of Honour*, p. ii., c. v., s. 17 and 26). The express condition on which this proportion of land was granted (by mutual agreement), was that the possessor should attend his lord in the wars with horse and arms, for forty days in each year, if called upon. The tenant of half a fee to do like service for twenty days, and so in proportion. The barons, or large landholders, would split their knights' fees into many small tenements, ⁽⁵⁾ *ad libitum*, and this

⁽¹⁾ *Baron. Ang.*, p. 130.

⁽²⁾ *Claus. 28 Hen. III. 3 m. 12, dorso ap. Ashmole*, p. 33.—See also *Coke, II. Inst.*, p. 596.

⁽³⁾ 25 *Edw. I.*, A.D. 1296-7. (*Palgrave's Parl. Writs.*)

⁽⁴⁾ "*Feodum unius militis integrum, valens quadraginta libros per annum.*" (*Bymer, sub. ann. 1324.*)

⁽⁵⁾ "*Tenement*, in its vulgar acceptation, is only applied to houses and other buildings; yet, in its original, proper, and legal sense, it signifies everything that may be *holden*, provided it be of a permanent nature." (*Blackstone, Com.*, vol. ii., b. ii., ch. ii.)

was termed sub-infeudation; the tenant-in-chief—always responsible to the king for the amount of military service in proportion to his proprietary—exacted the same conditions from his sub-tenants, who consequently took upon themselves a proportionate amount of service, according to their holdings. Thus it was contemplated that every portion of the land thus feoffed should represent a certain amount of the military service, for which the grantee made himself liable to the grantor. The great holdings of some of the Conqueror's relatives and favourites, give us some notion of the extensive grants by the Crown, and of the jurisdiction and influence of the barons.

Robert, Count of Mortaigne, the Conqueror's brother, obtained 973 manors; another brother, Odo, distinguished by the title of Earl Bishop, held nearly 450; the Earl of Brittany had 442; William de Warrenne, 298, besides twenty-eight townships and hamlets in Yorkshire; and Roger de Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, 280; ⁽¹⁾ the vassals of these landed proprietors would have composed an army of themselves.

Where an accumulation of fees was vested in the same person, he would be obliged, as he could only do personal duty for one, to furnish competent substitutes for all the others; and as these fees were made hereditary, minors and females would also be represented by substitutes, ⁽²⁾ as also the estates of those who

⁽¹⁾ Lingard, i. ch. 8.—Brady's *Hist.*, p. 198.

⁽²⁾ By the custom of England, an heir could not hold a barony, or knight's fee, until he was of the age of twenty-one. (*Baron. Ang.*, p. 61.)

might be physically incapacitated, so that nothing should be lost to the king. The power thus acquired to the crown was immense, so long as the landowners continued in their allegiance. Moreover, in the early periods, the king was enabled to compel the military attendance of his vassals by the most cogent of all enforcements—the right of confiscating or resuming the fiefs in case of default.⁽¹⁾

The term “knight,” as denoting the owner of a knight’s fee, is not to be taken too strictly in its usual acceptation. *Miles* is the Latin word employed, and correctly, as these feoffees formed part of the royal army by virtue of their tenures; but *miles* is often used to designate him who had achieved the honour of knighthood, which perhaps the term *eques* would more fitly represent. Knighthood was an honour; knight-service a tenure. The knight of honour might serve in any station whatever; the knight of tenure was a subordinate. Feudal customs were not alike in different countries, but in this respect there appears to have been a general agreement. “Il ne faut pas donc confondre le titre d’ancienne noblesse,” says Menestrier,⁽²⁾ “ou de noblesse militaire, avec la dignité de chevalier, par l’équivoque du terme Latin *miles*, qui convient à l’un et à l’autre.” He quotes an Ordonnance of the Emperor

(1) Failure in military service was punishable by the laws of the Conqueror with “full forfeiture.” (*Leges*, 217, 228.)—Malger le Vavasur was disseised of his land, because he neither went with the king into Ireland, nor made fine for his voyage. (*Madox, Hist. Ezcheq.*, p. 461.)

(2) *Prouves*, ch. i.

Frederick II. of Germany (A.D. 1232), where it is laid down: "*Ad militarem honorem nullus accedat qui non sit de genere militum.*" Writs of summons were frequently issued, commanding that those who held one knight's fee or more of the king in chief (*in capite*), and were not yet knighted, should take arms and get knighted before a given time.⁽¹⁾ Summary process was instituted to enforce compliance. An instance is recorded by Madox where "the honour of Dudley and other lands of Roger de Sumery were taken into the king's possession with all the chattels found on them, because Roger did not come to be girt with the belt of knighthood."⁽²⁾

The sheriffs were threatened with the king's (Henry III.) severe displeasure for any neglect in carrying out the regal mandate. "We command you, that as you love yourself and all yours, you compel all those within your jurisdiction who have twenty pounds of land, that they take care to enter themselves as knights by the next nativity of St. John the Baptist. And know you for certain that if for a

⁽¹⁾ 20 Hen. III., *Baron. Ang.*, p. 130.—25 Edw. I. (A.D. 1296-7).—"Rex dilecto et fideli sui, &c. Quia volumus quod omnes et singuli de com^u qui habent triginta libratos terræ vel feodum militis integrum valens triginta libras per ann. et milites esse debent et non sunt, armis militaribus decorentur: vobis mandamus . . . injungentes quod proclamationem faciatis publicæ proclamari quod omnes et singuli de eodem Com^u triginta libratos terræ vel feodum milites integrum valens triginta libras per ann. . . . qui milites esse debent et non sunt, arma militaria recipiant citra festum Pentecostes proximo futurum ad ultimum, sub gravi forisfactura terras et tenementes suos quæ in regno nostro tenent." (Palgrave's *Parl. Writs*.—See also the Statute *De Militibus*, 1 Edw. II., A.D. 1307.)

⁽²⁾ *Bar. Ang.*, p. 131.

present or any other account you grant them any indulgence, or give them any respect, we shall take it so much amiss, with respect to you, that you shall feel the effects of it during every day of your life.”⁽¹⁾ In 1256, Henry issued another proclamation on the same subject, that every knights’ fee-holder should be knighted for the increase of the military strength of England; and that they who would not or could not support the honour of knighthood should compound for a dispensation.⁽²⁾

The Statute of Knights (*de Militibus*)—attributed to the first year of Edward II., but which from internal evidence would appear more probably to belong to the sixth year of Edward I.⁽³⁾—directed that every one who was of the age of twenty-one, and who had £40 a-year in land, should be compelled to take upon himself the order of knighthood. The only exemptions were clerks in holy orders, minors, holders of burgage land, and those who had held their land but a short time. All who pleaded great age, or defect of limbs, or any incurable malady, or the heavy charge of their children, or of suits, were to appear before Robert Tibetot and Antony de Beke, who had discretionary powers to admit them to proportionate fines in lieu of knighthood.⁽⁴⁾

One can easily detect the real motive of this regulation, namely, to get money; everything being subservient to the great purpose of increasing the

(¹) Claus. 28, Hen. III.—See also Coke, II. *Inst.*, p. 596.

(²) *Hist. Minor.*, Matth. Paris.

(³) *Archæologia*, xxxix. 216.

(⁴) Statutes pub. by Record Commiss., i. 229.

revenues of the crown, even at the cost of degrading chivalry into an imposition and a tax ; a fine being, in the language of those days, not only an amercement for an offence, but also the purchase of exemption and the price of a favour. ⁽¹⁾

Nor was it confined to our early kings to regard the creation of knights as an emolument ; for Charles I., in 1629, during his pecuniary distresses, insisted upon a composition of £40 from those who declined being knighted. ⁽²⁾ " This levying of knight-hood-money," says Clarendon, ⁽³⁾ " had a foundation in right, yet in the circumstances of proceeding it was very grievous." It answered well, however, the king's purpose, for many paid rather than submit to the inquisitorial search as to their private estates, and it brought £100,000 into the royal exchequer. To counteract this, an act was passed (16 Car. I. c. xx.) A.D. 1641, that no person should be compelled to take upon himself the order of knighthood, nor undergo any fine for not receiving the same, such proceedings being pronounced to be " altogether useless and unreasonable." ⁽⁴⁾

It is quite possible that the bulk of the land-owners were in ignorance of the consequences of feudal servitude, and that in giving their assent to knight-service they believed they were doing nothing

⁽¹⁾ See Barrington's *Observations on the more Ancient Statutes*, A.D. 1796, p. 19.

⁽²⁾ See *Anthony Wood's Life*, p. 19.

⁽³⁾ *Hist. Rebell.*, i. 53.

⁽⁴⁾ " An Act for the Prevention of Vexatious Proceedings touching the Order of Knighthood." (*Statutes of the Realm*, vol. v., p. 131.)

more than putting the kingdom in a state of defence by establishing a military system, and by obliging themselves (in respect of their lands) to maintain the king's title and territories; and that the hardships and exactions were speciously and fraudulently introduced by the cunning of the Norman lawyers, as the regular appendages of the system. ⁽¹⁾

To carry out this system, a territorial survey became a necessity, and the result was that extraordinary work of inquiry by commissioners which has come down to our times; it occupied six years in compilation, and was at first simply designated "THE BOOK OF WINCHESTER," that having been its place of deposit, but afterwards it acquired the ominous name of DOMESDAY. ⁽²⁾

Domesday
Book.

Circumstances (so to speak) favoured the designs of our Norman king, and perhaps produced that unanimity which otherwise might not have existed. The Danes had made several recent attempts to relieve the English, actuated, doubtless, by motives no less disinterested than of old. In the autumn of 1069 the arrival of 240 Danish ships in the Humber, under the command of Jarl Osborn, brother of King Sweyn, had lighted up the expiring hopes of the English, who rushed to join their forces, and welcomed with acclamation these sons of the Baltic, whose very name had once been so terrible to their fathers. The patriot army marched upon York, and took the two Norman castles, putting

⁽¹⁾ Spelman, *v. Feudodum*.—Blackstone, II., b. ii., chap. iv., p. 51.

⁽²⁾ Spelman, *v. Domesday*.

more than 3,000 soldiers to the sword, and the Ætheling Edgar was proclaimed king. As winter approached, the Danes retired to their ships, and the free Saxons awaited the return of spring to make a grand united effort to drive the hated Norman from the south. In the meanwhile diplomacy was set to work, and gold from William's redundant coffers was lavished among the pirates. An arrangement was completed, and the bribed Danes returned to their country.⁽¹⁾ Then came the Conqueror's retribution. He marched upon York with his best troops. The defenders learned the departure of the Danish fleet simultaneously with the approach of the Norman army. Abandoned and desperate, they resisted to the utmost, and were killed by thousands. Young Edgar, and all who could escape, fled back to Scotland. William continued his rapid march northwards. He re-precipitated himself on the land of Northumbria in a frenzy of vengeance. Houses and crops were burnt; every living thing was put to the sword. Not a village was left standing between York and Durham, nor for years was any attempt made at cultivation. In the great survey, sixteen years afterwards, the district comprising the five modern counties of Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire is not included; their description was summed up in the simple but expressive words, "*waste land*."⁽²⁾ In 1085

(1) Sim. Dun., *De Gestis*, 1069.—*Chron. Sax.*—Matth. Westmon., p. 226.—Matth. Paris, i. 6.—Florence Wigorn., p. 636.

(2) "Omnia nunc vasta." (*Domesday Book*, i. fol. 309.)

the restless Danes again turned their attention towards these shores, and intelligence of their formidable preparations caused the greatest apprehension to the Normans.⁽¹⁾ William published through France the ban⁽²⁾ which he had proclaimed twenty years before, offering high pay and great reward to every soldier who would enrol in his service. An immense number flocked to England from all parts, so much so that it was remarked as wonderful that the country could find food for them all.⁽³⁾ They were quartered in towns and villages, and earls, sheriffs, bishops, and abbots were ordered to lodge and support them in proportion to their respective jurisdictions or domains.⁽⁴⁾

This attempt, the last ever made by the Danes at hostile invasion on this island,⁽⁵⁾ proved abortive, William having employed the same means which had been so successful on the preceding occasion, and King Knut is said to have fallen a victim to the disappointed rage of his warriors.⁽⁶⁾ But the fear of invasion must have convinced the barons and others, who had recently been much disposed to be turbulent, of the necessity for military organisation, and they perhaps hoped thereby to avoid the imposition of foreign troops; at all events, towards

(1) *Hist. S. Canuti*, i., b. vi.

(2) See Spelman, v. *banum*.

(3) *Sax. Chron.*, p. 288. Edit. Ingram, 1823.

(4) *Ibid.*—Florent. Wigorn., p. 641.

(5) Except one. In the eleventh year of the reign of William II., Magnus, King of Norway, made a descent upon the Isle of Anglesea, but was repulsed by Hugh, Earl of Shrewsbury. This was the final attack made by the Northern nations upon England.

(6) *Hist. S. Canuti*.

the close of the year 1086, there was a great meeting at Sarum, and then and there they voluntarily took the oath of fealty, and acknowledged themselves the king's men.⁽¹⁾

Feudal
Hardships.

For upwards of a century and a quarter the country had cause to deplore that *auto da fe*! To arm in defence of king and country induced a natural subordination in those who were interested in the stability of the realm, but the so-called *reliefs* and other exactions, the utter dependence, and all the vexatious incidents of feudalism, had not entered into their calculations. The tyranny of the forest-laws was one of the earliest grievances. Hitherto every freeholder had full liberty of sporting upon his own territories, provided he abstained from the king's forests, as is fully expressed in the laws of Canute and of Edward the Confessor.⁽²⁾ But now a new doctrine came in force, that all animals accounted game belonged to the king by his prerogative, on that feudal principle that he is the primary and ultimate proprietor of all the lands in the kingdom. This right was exerted with the utmost rigour, and vast tracts of country were depopulated for the purpose of being reserved solely for the king's diversion. The New Forest alone is stated to have been a space of thirty miles, containing more than sixty parishes, which the Conqueror broke up, and from

(1) Matth. Westmon. p. 229.—*Sax. Chron.* (edit. 1823), p. 290. "And all the landmen, that were of any account over all England, became this man's vassals as they were, and they all bowed themselves before him, and became his men."

(2) Quoted in *Blackstone*, II., b. ii., ch. xxvii.

which he expelled the inhabitants.⁽¹⁾ The most horrid tyrannies and oppressions were exercised under cover of forest law. The death of a poor Saxon was of little moment, but the beasts of the field were protected by the severest penalties; so that it was said, "This king loved wild beasts as though he had been their father."⁽²⁾ It is easy to imagine the effect of these restrictions on men passionately devoted to the chase, as all primitive peoples are.

William Rufus followed in his father's footsteps, and maintained with a high hand all the rigours of the new laws. Henry I. found it expedient to promise a restoration of the laws of the Confessor; and accordingly, in the first year of his reign, he granted a charter. This was, however, gradually violated, and the former grievances were revived and aggravated by himself and succeeding sovereigns. But it was the excessive power of the King which made England free, for it gave rise to the spirit of union, and of concerted resistance, and the barons were compelled to associate the people with them, and make them partners of public liberty. The result was that great charter at Runnymede, in 1215, which is the foundation of our free constitution. But *Magna Charta*, however important to the general

(1) See Spelman, *v. foresta*.—"Et silvestres feras pro hominibus ibidem constituit." (Order. Vital., lib. x., p. 781.)—Malmesbury, p. 11.—The author of a well-written history of the New Forest does not agree in the depopulation caused by this afforestation. (See *The New Forest*. By J. R. Wise. 1863. Page 23, *et seq.*)

(2) "Sua swithe he lufode tha headeor swylce he wære heora fader." (*Sax. Chron.*, p. 191.)

liberties of the nation, did not abolish that great feudal obligation by which the subjects were bound to military service at the command of the Crown; and although, subsequently, pecuniary commutations were agreed to be taken in lieu of personal service, still the military part of the feudal system was understood to be strictly constitutional and binding, till it was formally abolished at the Restoration, by the 12th of Charles II.

Non-Exemption of Clergy and Women.

The duty of providing for the protection of the state was not confined to the lay tenants, for the lands of the Church were not exempt, and dignitaries with most of the clerical and monastic bodies were compelled to submit their lands and tenements to the same burthens. Exemptions were admitted when the lands were proved to be held in *frank almoigne*, or free alms, a tenure which exempted the tenant from any species of obligation, except that of saying masses at his own discretion.⁽¹⁾ These instances were, however, few, and the generality of the clergy were forced to supply their contingents. Nor were the lands of "widows and other women" (who had succeeded to the possession of knights' fees) free, but were held on like conditions. Ecclesiastics generally, and of course the ladies always, were permitted the indulgence of

(1) Order. Vitalis, lib. viii. 703.—Du Cange, *v. eleemosyna libera*.—Madox, *Bar. Ang.*, p. 115.—To correct this evasion, the Statute of Mortmain was enacted. Blackstone gives, as the most probable explanation of the term, that the members of ecclesiastical bodies (being professed) were reckoned dead persons in law; land, therefore, held by them might be said to be *in mortua manu*. (*Commen.*, I. b. i., ch. xviii., p. 480.)

performing their service by deputy, or exempted on payment of a fine. Sometimes, however, the personal attendance of the clergy with the army was insisted upon. A curious instance of this occurs in a writ in the 41st of Henry III. (A.D. 1257) when the King summoned the Bishop of Lincoln and all other prelates and persons, to attend with their contingents which they were bound to furnish, and accompany him with the army about to proceed against the Welsh. And the King prohibited them from attending convocation, or any other clerical assembly, during the period of the expedition. For he appears to have had his suspicions that a convocation had been ordered by the Archbishop of Canterbury, as a pretext for detaining his clergy from attendance on the army. Henry evidently regarded the presence of the clergy with the army as a matter of great importance; "their absence," says he, "might entail imminent danger on the state."⁽¹⁾ We are not, however, to infer that these "prelates and others" were called on to deliver a *pastoral charge* at the head of their contingents; but having brought them to the field, they were then at liberty to discharge those duties which were more in consonance with their vocation—attending the wounded, and consoling the dying. The mere presence of the clergy was probably the important fact regarded by the king, as likely to inspire confidence on his side, by giving a sanction to the cause.

At the battle of Hastings the Norman priests

(¹) Rymer, *sub anno*.

gathered themselves together on a hillock, and offered up prayer for the combatants:—

“ Li proveire è li ordené
En som un tertre sunt monté,
Por Dex préier è por orer.” (Wace, l. 13,081.)

The clergy often addressed the troops before going into action, and granted them full absolution in order to inspirit them, as did the Bishop of Durham, who accompanied the army of Stephen, at the Battle of the Standard, in 1138, when all the English troops responded “Amen.”⁽¹⁾ Sometimes, again, we hear of them in their appropriate capacity as mediators, like “Monsignor Taleran Cardinal de Pierregort,” previous to the battle of Poitiers.

Martial Spirit
of the Clergy.

Not that in mediæval times the clergy evinced any deficiency of warlike qualities, or that their peaceful calling prevented the frequent assumption of the coat of mail; and although, as the old chronicler of the chivalric times says, “Men of the Church that cometh and goeth for treaty of peace ought not by reason to bear harness, nor to fight for neither of the parties, they ought to be indifferent,”⁽²⁾ still we shall often find them actively militant in the battle-field, thus openly acting in direct contravention of the canons of the Church, which forbade them to shed man’s blood. The mace or *bâton* was the usual arm of Churchmen when they went to battle, who perhaps by this means sought to avoid the denunciation against those “who smite with the sword.”

(1) “Ad hæc autem respondet omnis populus gentis Anglorum, et resonuerunt montes et colles: Amen.” (Hoveden.)

(2) Froissart (edit. Berners), i., cap. clxii., p. 199.

At Hastings, Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, the chronicler informs us—

“Un *baston* teneit en son poing.” (*Rom. de Rou.*)

Notwithstanding the decree of the synod of Westminster in 1175, that “Whoever would appear to belong to the clergy, let them not take up arms, nor yet go about in armour; if they despise this injunction, let them be mulcted with the loss of their proper rank,”⁽¹⁾ yet the clerical magnates defied all restraints, and openly and extensively armed themselves, not always even in necessary defence, but evidently out of pure love of military adventure.

The monk of St. Edmunds, Joceline of Brakalond, tells us under the year 1193, “Our abbot, who was styled ‘the Magnanimous Abbot,’ went to the siege of Windsor, where he appeared in armour, with *other abbots* of England, having his own banner, and retaining many knights at heavy charges; being more remarkable there for his counsel than for his piety. But we cloister-folks thought this act rather dangerous, fearing the consequence, that some future abbot might be compelled to attend in person on any warlike expedition.”

The answer attributed to Richard I. when he took prisoner in France Philip de Dreux, Bishop of Beauvais, is pretty well known.⁽²⁾ The King hated him,

⁽¹⁾ Hoveden, *sub. ann.* 1175.

⁽²⁾ The same bold bishop beat down with a mace Long-Sword, Earl of Salisbury, at the battle of Bouvines, in 1214, and the French army on that occasion was commanded by Guérin, Bishop-elect of Senlis.—In the revolt of the Scots under Bruce, in 1306, amongst the prisoners captured by the English, were the Bishops of St.

and threw him into prison. When the Pope required the release of his spiritual son, Cœur de Lion sent back the hauberk besmeared with blood, which the prelate had worn in battle, with the scriptural quotation: "This have we found: know now whether it be thy son's coat or no."⁽¹⁾

Froissart has recorded an amusing incident at the attack of the town of Hainecourt in 1339, where a stout abbot offered a most strenuous resistance to its capture. "He was a very bold and valiant man in arms, and was seen in the front rank dealing and receiving blows. A great stand was made at the barriers in front of the town, and many fierce personal encounters occurred there. In one of these, my lord the abbot (*damp abbé*) seized the spear of Messire Henri de Flandre, and drew it through the clefts of the palisade. Messire Henri would not let it go, and so the abbot managed to get hold of the knight's arm and draw it through as far as the shoulder, and would infallibly have drawn him in altogether, if the opening had been wide enough." "I assure you," continues the chronicler, "that the said Messire Henri was not at his ease while the abbot thus held him, for the abbot was strong and fierce, and pulled at him without sparing him. On the other hand, the knights pulled against him, to rescue Messire Henri; and this wrestling and pulling continued a very long time, so that Messire Henri was much hurt. At length he

Andrew's and Glasgow, and the Abbot of Scone, all taken in complete armour. (*Vide* Lingard, iii. 280.)

⁽¹⁾ Matthew Paris.

was rescued; but his spear remained in the hands of the abbot, who kept it many years." (i. 78.)⁽¹⁾

Jean Montaigu, Archbishop of Sens, was killed at Azincourt. Monstrelet says of him, that he was "non pas en estat pontifical, car au lieu de mitre il portoit une bacinet, pour dalmatique portoit un haubergeon, pour chasuble la piece d'acier; et au lieu de crosse, portoit une hache." (fol. 132.)

The pugnastic element of Churchmen was not confined to the Middle Ages; we find it repeated much later; for instance, in the Civil Wars we hear of Nathaniel Ward, of Ipswich, who was a devoted Royalist; he left clerical orders, and received a death-wound as a soldier at the siege of Millam Castle, Cumberland; ⁽²⁾ and the name of the Rev. George Walker is handed down to posterity as the gallant defender of Londonderry against the forces of King James in 1689, for which service he was rewarded with the honorary degree of D.D. by the University of Oxford, received the thanks of Parliament, and was nominated by William to the see of Derry. ⁽³⁾

In the 22nd Edward I. (A.D. 1294) the King issued a commission to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, appointing him, with the barons of the exchequer, to receive fines to his use, according to their direction,

⁽¹⁾ The edition of Froissart invariably referred to throughout this work, unless otherwise specified, is that of Buchon, Paris, 1835.

⁽²⁾ See a biographical notice of him in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd S. xii., p. 379.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, 2nd S. x., p. 106.—The latest clerical hero is the Rev. James Parker Harris, B.A., Oxon, known as the chaplain of Lucknow. He was made an honorary M.A. for the bravery with which he ministered to the wants of the sick and suffering during that siege.

from archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and other religious and ecclesiastical persons, widows and other women, in lieu of military service in the expedition to Gascony. In the 31st of the same reign, King Edward having summoned his feudal tenants to assemble at Berwick, in order to march against the Scots, commanded the sheriffs to proclaim publicly that such ecclesiastics or women as were willing to pay fines, in lieu of personal service, should appear before the barons of the exchequer on the morrow of the Ascension of our Lord next ensuing, or sooner, if possible, at York, in order to pay fines for the said services, each knights' fee being charged at the rate of £20.⁽¹⁾ The option here given is whether they would

(¹) Rex vic' Eborum, salutem. Licet nuper tibi præceperimus, quod summoneri faceres archiepiscopos, episcopos, abbates, priores, et alias personas ecclesiasticas, et etiam viduas et alias mulieres de ballivâ tuâ, qui de nobis tenent per servitium militare, vel per serjantiam, seu de custodiis archiepiscopatum et episcopatum, aut aliis custodiis sive wardis, in manu nostrâ existentibus; Quod habeant ad nos, in festo Pentecostes proximo futuro, apud Berewyk super Twedam, totum servitium suum, nobis debitum, cum equis et armis benè munitum et paratum, ad proficiscendum nobiscum, et cum aliis fidelibus nostris contra Scotos inimicos nostros; Volentes tamen ipsorum prælatorum, religiosorum, mulierum, ac aliorum, qui ad arma minus potentes, aut etiam minus idonei existunt, parcere gratiosè laboribus istâ vice; Tibi præcipimus, firmiter injungentes, quod statim, visis præsentibus, in pleno com' tuo, et nihilominus in villis mercatoriis, et alibi, per totam ballivam tuam, ubi meliùs videris expedire, publicè proclamari facias; Quod ipsi prælati, religiosi, mulieres, et alii, ad arma minus sufficientes aut idonei, qui servitium suum nobis debent, et finem pro eodem servitio nobiscum facere voluerint, veniant coram thes' et baronibus nostris de scaccario, in crastino Ascensionis Domini proximo futuro, aut citius, si possint, apud Eborum, vel alique pro ipsis, tunc ibidem mittant; Ad faciendum finem nobiscum pro servitio suo prædicto, et ad eundem finem, videlicet viginti librarum pro feodo unius militis (et aliàs pro quantitate servitii sui militaris vel serjantiæ, nobis debiti in hac parte) nobis ibidem in eodem crastino solvendo: Alioqui quod sint ad

supply the men or their money's worth, and was not a question of serving in person. For instance, "Elene la Zouche held by a knights', and one-sixth part of a knights', fee. She was charged with scutage for the same by the exchequer, but in regard that *she did her service* with the King (*habuit servitium suum cum Rege*), by deputy of course, in the army of Wales, the King commanded the barons to discharge her of the said scutage." (25 Edw. I., Madox, p. 457.)

Again, in 1369, the realm being menaced with invasion, Edward III. summoned his clerical subjects to be armed and arrayed, having previously, as it appears, obtained the assent of the prelates for that purpose. Other writs of a similar nature were issued in 1372 and in 1373. (See Rymer, *sub annis*.)

nos in prædicto festo Pentecostes cum equis et armis, et toto tuo servitio, ut tenentur. (Rymer, edit. 1816, vol. i., p. 952.)

CHAPTER V.

CHIVALRY—KNIGHTLY EDUCATION—PAGES AND ESQUIRES—KNIGHTS—
THEIR ACCOLADE—HIGH SOCIAL POSITION—GALLANTRY—JOUSTS
AND TOURNAMENTS—FAVEURS—LE BEL CAVALIER—RELIGION—
COURTESY—SWORN-BROTHERHOOD—EDWARD III.—PRINCE OF WALES'
FEATHERS.

CHIVALRY—a name almost inseparable from feudalism—has descended to us as something combining the essence of honour, generosity, and manly daring; and regarding it as we do, through the vista of ages, it is invested with more of romance than probably it actually possessed or really deserved. The profession of arms being the great path to distinction, the descendant of a gentleman, or the free-born person (for high birth was not always a necessary qualification), aspired to become a knight, and patiently underwent a long training of arduous services to qualify him for its reception, notwithstanding the unwillingness of many, who, deterred by the attendant expense, required statutory enactments to compel its adoption.

The probation of the aspirant for the honour of knighthood necessarily commenced at an early period of youth. He was generally sent to the castle of some great man, in order that he might be removed from the indulgences of home, and that nothing

might interfere with the rigid training which was deemed requisite for that career. Fitzstephen (in *Vita S. T. Cantuar*) informs us that the nobility not only of England, but of the neighbouring countries, sent their children to be trained to chivalry in the household of Thomas à Becket; for he, although a Churchman, was distinguished for his warlike qualities. The great feudatories of the Crown maintained in their households a dignity and pageantry imitative of the royal court, and so every castle became a school of chivalry.⁽¹⁾ There, as a page, his education commenced; and though his functions in personal attendance on his lord partook somewhat of a menial character, it was thought no degradation for the highest-born candidate to undertake them. The principles of religion and courtesy were among the first lessons he received, and stately dames—for his early tuition seems to have been confided very much to the women of the family—strove to instruct him in a knowledge of his duty to God and his lady, instilling into his youthful mind that refined and mystic idea of love, which was so peculiar a feature of chivalry.

At the age of fourteen he might reasonably expect promotion to the dignity of esquire,⁽²⁾ when

⁽¹⁾ Ordericus (p. 511) notices the want of castles in England in his time, as one reason why rebellions were easily quelled, but Matthew Paris assures us that there were, in the time of Henry II., 1,115 castles in England.

⁽²⁾ The appellation of squire was bestowed on the sons of knights and gentlemen not yet knighted, in the twelfth century in France (Vaissette, *Hist. de Lang.*, t. ii., p. 513), but in England it was not used as a title of distinction till the reign of Edward III., and then

he exchanged his short dagger for the sword. This transition seems to have been marked by a religious ceremony. ⁽¹⁾ He was now admitted to more familiar communication with courtly society, and he saw and learnt that decorous deportment which was the characteristic of the true knight. His exercises then became more violent; and if they were generally such as were described of some, they would have been feats of strength which few men of the present day could execute; but when we recollect the crushing

but sparingly. In Henry VI.'s time it had become more common, yet none assumed it but the sons and heirs of knights, and some military men; except officers in courts of justice, who, by patent or prescription, had obtained that addition. (Spelman's *Posthumous Works*, p. 234.) In England the terms "gentleman" and "esquire" have ceased to be used as denoting a distinction and a privilege, thus showing the wind of popular opinion. Subordination, however, in every society is the bond of its existence; the highest and the lowest individuals derive their strength and security from their mutual assistance and dependence. The subordination of all men to their appointed rulers was one of the doctrines of Christianity itself, as taught by the great Apostle of the Gentiles, and recommended by the example of the Saviour. Milton makes Satan even, when warring against the King of Heaven, address his legions thus:—

"If not equal all, yet free,
Equally free: for orders and degrees
Jar not with liberty, but well consist."

This sentiment is also beautifully described by Shakespeare:—

"Take but degree away, untune that string,
And, hark, what discord follows! Each thing meets
In mere oppugnancy:
Strength should be lord of imbecility,
Force should be right; or, rather, right and wrong
(Between whose endless jar justice resides)
Should lose their names, and so should justice too."

(*Troilus and Cressida*, i. 3.)

⁽¹⁾ Favon, *Théâtre d'Honneur*.

weight of armour which these knights of old had to support—the hardships which they endured, and the labours they were enabled to undergo—the training might not have been too severe for the results which it produced.

In the life of Boucicaut, ⁽¹⁾ we read that the young hero practised, amongst other things, during the period of his knightly *candidature*, to vault in full armour upon and off a horse, without using the stirrup, ⁽²⁾ and to throw somersaults ⁽³⁾ when similarly accoutred, in order to strengthen his arms. He would jump up astride upon the shoulders of a tall man mounted on a tall horse, with no other assistance than laying hold of the man's sleeve with one hand. He would climb up a ladder on the reverse side (armed) using one hand, and so forth. These, however, must have been rare feats of strength and agility, and are not to be taken as examples of what an esquire's training usually was. Froissart tells us of a valiant young French knight, who lost his life by attempting to perform the feat of climbing a cable in full armour. ⁽⁴⁾ The squires had still some

⁽¹⁾ *Le Livre des Faits du bon Messire Jean le Maingre, dit Boucicaut, Mareschal de France, &c.*

⁽²⁾ Virgil tells us of the Scolothians performing this exercise:—

“Frœna Pelethronii Lapithæ gyrosque dedere
Impositi dorso, atque equitem docuere sub armis
Insultare solo, et gressus glomerare superbos.”

(*Georgics*, lib. iii.)

⁽³⁾ “Il faisoit le soubresaut armé de toutes pièces.”

⁽⁴⁾ “Le chevalier étoit jeune et de grand ‘volonté;’ et pour monstrier appertise de corps, tout armé il se mit à monter amont et à ramper contre la cable de la nef où il étoit; en ce faisant, le pied lui faillit, il fut renversé en la mer; et là périt, ni oncques on ne lui

drudgery to submit to, and we are told that they made the beds of their knights:—

“ Les lis firent li escuier,
Si coucha chacuns son seignor.” (1)

But their most important duties consisted in following their chiefs to the battle-field, and rendering every possible assistance in the *mêlée*.⁽²⁾ They were, as their name literally implies (*escuyer*), the shield-bearers, and bore their chieftain's arms; hence also the term *armiger*. For except when danger was apparent, the knights relieved themselves of their weighty encumbrances. It was considered a defiance, if a knight appeared with helmet on his head, shield round his neck, and lance in his hand.

Knighthood.

At the age of twenty-one the squire was eligible to knighthood; he became, if he had property enough to support the dignity, a *bas-chevalier*, a term which we have confused by the tautology of a knight-bachelor. The banneret was a still more expensive degree; the difference between the two, the common knight (*bas-chevalier*) and the banneret, was that the latter was a person of greater influence or wealth, who could furnish a greater number of armed men. The knight's contingent was led under a pennon,⁽³⁾ which was

put aider; car tantôt il fut effondré pour les arméures dont il étoit vêtu.” (*Chron.*, ii. 314.) His name was Aubert de Hangest.

(1) *Fabliaux MSS. du Roi*.—Sainte-Palaye.

(2) At Poitiers, Lord James Audley had bestowed upon his four esquires, who had rendered him essential service by carrying him away when severely wounded, the 500 marks which the Prince had conferred upon him for his own gallant services in the same battle. (Froissart, i. 359.)

(3) In the *Mustet Roll of the Army*, anno 1417, taken at the end of July, just before Henry V.'s second expedition to Normandy, printed

an ensign or standard ending in a tail or point—the bannerets marched under a banner, which was rectangular, nearly twice as long as it was wide. When a knight was created a banneret, the point of his pennon was cut off, which constituted for the occasion a banner.

Sometimes the squire was admitted into the order of knighthood before he had attained his majority. This, however, was rare, except in the case of sovereign princes. Henry I. was made a knight at sixteen.⁽¹⁾ Edward the Black Prince was only fifteen years and two months old when he fought with his knightly spurs at Crecy. “I command them to let the boy well win his spurs”⁽²⁾ (that is, deserve them, for Edward III. had knighted him on landing in France, at La Hogue), was the chivalrous reply of his royal father, when succours were asked for his son! Henry of Monmouth (afterwards Henry V.) was knighted in his twelfth year by Richard II., when in Ireland.⁽³⁾ The dignity of knighthood was often conferred on the field, upon men even of low degree, for deeds of extraordinary valour.

To invest him publicly with his arms, was originally the simple ceremonial which promoted the warrior to knighthood. Lanfranc conferred the

in brief at the end of *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (published by English Histor. Soc.), amongst Lord Bergavenny's men-at-arms one is designated the Penner, doubtless the one who carried the pennon.

⁽¹⁾ Matth. Paris.

⁽²⁾ Froissart, i. 240.

⁽³⁾ *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, ut supra.

honour of knighthood on William Rufus. The ceremony is thus briefly described: "He clothed him with the coat of mail, and placed the helmet on his head, and girt him with the military belt in the name of the Lord."⁽¹⁾ The investiture afterwards assumed a more imposing aspect. The candidate presented himself in a church, confessed himself, and passed the night in watching and meditation. In the morning he heard mass, and, approaching the altar, placed his sword upon it, which was returned to him with benedictions by the priest. After other religious exercises, he bathed, thereby expressing the purity which was necessary for the state into which he was about to enter. After that, knights who were in attendance, and sometimes ladies, approached the novice and arrayed him in his newly-acquired garb, putting on the greaves and spurs; next the hauberk, then the breastplate, and lastly girding on the sword. Then he was dubbed (from the old French *adoubé*, which, according to Du Cange, signified *adopted*), which probably was nothing more than a formal recognition of admission to the equestrian order; and lastly, the sovereign, or chief man present, rose from his seat, and gave the *accolade*, which was generally three strokes with the flat of the sword upon the shoulder, or upon the nape of the neck; and sometimes a blow with the palm of the hand upon the cheek, saying, "In the name of God I make thee a knight!" This ceremony varied at different times. The "*accollée*" (*ad*

(¹) "Eum lorica induit, et galeam ejus imposuit, eique militiæ cingulum in nomine Domini cinxit." (Order. Vit., p. 665.)

collum) does not appear in the earlier instances, and the term seems employed to express either a blow or an embrace, two things certainly of a very opposite character. In Froissart we read that when the brave Countess of Montfort received succours in her state of siege, "*les fêta liement et baisa et accola chacun de grand cœur*" (i. 159). Knighthood was often conferred on gallant esquires immediately before the commencement of an engagement, when the grand ceremonial must have been entirely omitted, or very greatly curtailed. Thus, before the battle of Nogent, Sir Eustace d'Aubrecicourt "called to him certain young esquires, as the courageous Manny, his cousin, Martin of Spain, and others, and there he made them knights." (Froissart, i. 405.)

Our King Henry I. wishing to do great honour to the young Earl Geoffrey of Anjou, became his knightly godfather,⁽¹⁾ and defrayed the cost of the ceremony of his investiture at Rouen. After the bath, the king presented him with a Spanish charger, a suit of mail proof against lance and sword, gold spurs, a shield emblazoned in gold with three lions, a helmet set with jewels, an ash lance with a head of Poictou iron, and a sword of temper so fine that it passed for the work of Waland, the fabulous smith of Northern traditions.⁽²⁾

When once admitted to knighthood, a high social

(1) "*Les chevaliers se regardoient comme les enfans de ceux qui les avoient armés, d'où le mot adouber venant d'adoptare.*" (Note to Ste. Palaye, part iv.)

(2) Johannes Monachus, *Major Monast.* — *Hist. Gaufredi Ducis Norman.*, xii. 520.

position was assigned to him; and in those days, when valour, in popular estimation, may be said to have been the "chiefest virtue," and was the great source of renown and merit, no distinction was more honourable or more important. It even gave additional dignity to kings and princes, for it conferred privileges to which rank or birth alone were not entitled, and they were proud to receive such distinction, even at the hands of their subjects. Francis I. of France was made chevalier by the hand and sword of Bayard; and in England Edward III., Henry VI., Edward IV., Edward VI., were knighted, after their accession to the crown, by their own subjects. ⁽¹⁾ No one, however exalted his rank, could confer knighthood, unless he had himself previously received it, nor would he presume to sit at the same table with knights unless he himself had won his spurs. ⁽²⁾ His word or promise might be relied upon with the firmest assurance, and he went forth seeking to earn a reputation "*sans peur et sans reproche*." In the character drawn by Chaucer, of a "veray parfit gentil knight," it is a principal feature that he loved—

. "chivalrie,
Trouthe and honour, freedom and curtesie."

⁽¹⁾ Ashmole, p. 44.—*Hist. of the Reformation*, i., p. 15. (A.D. 1547.)

⁽²⁾ When "le sage roy Charles" entertained the Emperor Charles IV. at Paris, in 1378, the following precedence was observed at the tables:—The Bishop of Paris had the first seat; then came the King, and the King of Bohemia; then the Dukes of Berry, Brabant, Burgundy, Bourbon, and Bar; while other two dukes, because they were not yet knights, supped at the second table, where the son of the King of Navarre, the Count d'Eu, and several other lords, bore them company. (See Christine de Pisan. *Faits du Sage Roy Charles*, pt. iii., ch. 37, in Petitot's *Collec.*)

But although the glory and defence of the sovereign and state—the promotion of his religion, and the protection of the oppressed—formed the legitimate object of knightly enterprise, yet the praise of his lady-love was often the mainspring of his adventures and the source of his valour. It was for her that he fought and conquered, ⁽¹⁾—to her all his trophies were consecrated, and the remembrance that “None but the brave deserve the fair,” was a constant incentive to his exertions. “Oh, that my lady saw me!” said a knight, as he was mounting a breach at the head of his troops, and driving the enemy before him. ⁽²⁾ The treatment of women is always a test of civilisation, and this devotion to them had a wonderful effect in refining the manners of the age. Women, in return, failed not to feel their influences, and to appreciate their dominion. “Dès la douzième siècle,” says Michelet, “la femme prit sur la terre une place proportionnée à l’importance nouvelle qu’elle avait acquise dans la hiérarchie céleste.” ⁽³⁾

In seasons of festivity, jousts and tournaments

Jousts and
Tournaments.

⁽¹⁾ Abundant instances of gallantry are recorded in the pages of the sprightly Froissart. The love of Eustache d'Aubrecicourt for Ysabel de Juliers, widow of the Earl of Kent, for instance; “Si étoit cette dame jeune et avoit enamourée monseigneur Eustache pour les grands bacheleries et appertises d'armes qu'il faisoit, et dont elle on oyoit tous les jours recorder. Et en ce temps que messire Eustache se tenoit en Champagne, la dite dame lui envoya haquenées et coursiers plusieurs, et lettres amoureuses, et grands signifiances d'amours, parquoi le dit chevalier en étoit *plus hardi* et *plus courageux*, et faisoit de grands appertises que chacun parloit de lui.” (i. 401.)

⁽²⁾ St. Foix, *Essais Hist. sur Paris*, iii. 263.

⁽³⁾ *Hist. de France*, i., ch. 7.

exercised the military prowess of the knight.⁽¹⁾ These images of war were announced with much pomp and ceremony. Judges were appointed to determine the issues, and to maintain the laws of chivalry. The successful competitors in the lists

⁽¹⁾ Most nations of antiquity, like the savages of modern times, had warlike games and ceremonies. In all countries which have only reached a certain condition of society, the amusements of peace partake at least of the forms of war. But when and where instituted, that costly pageant, the tourney, is involved in some uncertainty. The *Chronicle of Tours*, under the year 1066, and that of *St. Martin of Tours*, expressly attribute its origin to Geoffroy de Preuilli, who died in 1066, but Du Cange (*Dissertation de l'Origine et de l'Usage des Tournois* at the end of Joinville) quotes curious instances of tournaments before the death of that personage. The French probably instituted them. Matthew Paris calls them "conflictus Gallicus," and De Preuilli may possibly have introduced them into Western France.

They are said to have been first practised in England in the reign of Stephen (see William of Newbury, lib. v., cap. 4); but they were forbidden by Henry II., as they had already been by the Church. At a council held at the Lateran in 1179, it was decreed, "ut nullus torneamenta exercere præsumat, et mortui in torneamentis Christiani careant sepultura." (Matthew Paris, and William of Newbury). It was not till the return of Richard I. from Palestine that they were properly established in this country. They were again forbidden by bull of Gregory IX. under pain of excommunication, in 1228, and by Henry III. in 1255, apparently not in deference to the authority of the Church, but on account of the danger of his son Edward in Gascony. The flourishing era of the tournament was in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but they continued down to the sixteenth, when Henry II. of France had his eye struck out in a passage of arms with the Count de Montgomery* which caused his death in 1559, and the tourney was consequently abolished in France. They were not, however, even then discontinued in this country and elsewhere, but they then degenerated into "Justs of Peace" or "Joustes à Plaisance," tournaments of the pointless lances and arms of courtesy, with all the gorgeousness of the old knightly encounters, but regarded as mere courtly pastimes. Maitland, in his *History*

* Gabriel de Lorge, Comte de Montgomery, a Frenchman of Scottish descent (claimed from the Earls of England, Eglintoun), captain of the Scottish archers. (*L'Etat de la France*, tom. ii., p. 5, Paris, 1727; quoted in *Papers relative to the Royal Guard of Scottish Archers in France*, p. xii., Maitland Club).

received their prizes at the hands of a woman, the selected queen of beauty.

—— “Throng of knights and barons bold,
In weeds of peace high triumphs hold;
With store of ladies, whose bright eyes
Rain influence, and judge the prize
Of wit, or arms, while both contend
To win her grace, whom all commend.”—*L'Allegro*.

The combatants entering the lists slowly, pronounced aloud the names of the fair ones to whom they had vowed their hearts and their homage, a privilege, perhaps, obtained at the expense of many a gallant achievement. They were presented with some “guerdon” by their ladies,—a ribbon or scarf, or “a kerchief of plesaunce,” or some detached ornament of their dress; these were vauntingly affixed by the knights to their helmets, or shields, or lances, and were displayed as pledges of victory. These pledges

of London, gives an amusing account of some held in Smithfield and Cheapside (see Index); and Holinshed describes the proceedings of a magnificent tournament that was held in the Tilt-yard, Westminster, in 1581, in honour of the Dauphin.

The distinction between the tournament and joust is not very clear. The latter is generally described to be a single combat or duel, whereas in the former a considerable number of combatants were engaged. This distinction is not, however, invariably observed. Spelman defines “torniare, gladiis concutere, justos facere.” Froissart has “Joustes a tous venans, grandes et plenières” (ii. cap. 154). In a proclamation of Edward III., “habere disposerimus hastiludia et justos generales.” (Rot. Par., 17 Edw. III., p. 2, m. 2.) The term “joust” has been derived by some from *jocare*, because it was a sort of sportive combat. Our English verb “to jostle” or “jostle,” and the French *jouster*, are probably connected with it. Tournament meant merely turning and wheeling about, from the common French word *tourner*. (See Scott's *Essays on Chivalry*; *Chevalerie de Ste. Palaye*; *Anc. Arm.*, i. 182; Du Cange, *Justa*; and Champelli on *King René's Tourney-book*.)

were called *faveurs*,⁽¹⁾ and hence the ribbons distributed at weddings were termed "bride's favours." Even the ladies themselves evinced a taste for war, and sometimes waged it—the Countess de Montfort, for instance, who had "the courage of a man and the heart of a lion" (Froissart, i. 138).⁽²⁾ We read of one who so practised herself in knightly exercises, that she was called "Le Bel Cavalier."⁽³⁾

PLATE III. — Tilting helmet, of the fifteenth century. From the Hon. Robert Curzon's Collection, at Parham Park, Sussex.

The Church saw the policy, and lent its aid in solemnising the profession of chivalry; and in return, to defend Christianity with his sword and his life, became a sacred vow, to which every knight was

(1) "Lorsque le combattant étoit arrivé à l'entré des lices (lists), la dame lui donnoit un baiser, en l'exhortant à mériter les *faveurs* qu'elle lui destinoit. Ces recompenses n'étoient autre chose que quelques rubans ou nœuds." (Villaret, *Hist. de France*, tom. xii., p. 26.)

(2) "Ordericus Vitalis mentions a curious anecdote of two lively Norman ladies, who had quarrelled, Eloisa and Isabella. Each roused their friendly knights to assert their cause, and plundered and burnt each other's possessions. They were both spirited, loquacious, and beautiful, and governed their husbands; but they differed in temper. Eloisa was cunning and persuasive, fierce and penurious. Isabella was liberal and courageous, good-humoured, merry, and convivial. She rode among the knights, armed as they were, and was as dexterous in the use of their weapons." (*Collec. Duchesne*, pp. 687-8.)

(3) "The Troubadour Rambaud de Vaqueiras mentions that through the crevice of the door he saw the lady Beatrix one day pull off her long robe, gird on her brother's sword, like a knight, draw it from the scabbard, and toss it in the air, catching it again with address, and wheeling about from right to left, till, having finished the exercise, she returned the sword into its sheath. Hence he named her Bel Cavalier." (Ste. Palaye, *Hist. Litt. des Troubadours*, i. 271.)

No. 3.



Tilting Helmet of the Fifteenth Century. (From the Hon. Robert Curzon's Collection, at Parham Park, Sussex.)

ambitious to submit. Poetry laid hold, too, of chivalry, as religion had done, and the voice of the troubador⁽¹⁾ arrested attention as it chaunted forth, in *sirvente* and *fabliaux*, the prowess of knights and the loves of women.

But productive as those days were in romantic incidents, they were by no means days of strait-laced sentimentality or of virtuous abnegation. On the contrary, the period when chivalry flourished was a very dark one in the history of Europe, one in which we find perhaps the greatest amount of crime and violence; and it is that very darkness that was the life and soul of chivalry. In a civilised state of society knight-errantry would have been but a ridiculous and useless adventure. "The characteristic of the ages," to use the words of a modern writer, "was that perpetual contrast between gentleness and ruthless violence, confidence and distrust, black treachery and knightly honour, which give it a strange picturesqueness, and have rendered it the favourite field for historical romance."⁽²⁾

That the spirit of chivalry often rose to an extravagant height, and led to pernicious results, is unquestionable; but its institution undoubtedly produced a refinement of manners, and instances of magnanimity and valour, which otherwise, amid the

(1) *Trobaire*, in the oblique cases *trobador*, *troveur*, inventor. Every poetical composition among the Provençals which treated of any other subject than love was called *Sirventès*, in old French *Servantois*, as being of a class inferior to amorous or *chevaleresque* poetry.

(2) *Oxford Essays*, 1856, p. 95, *On the Growth of the Laws and Usages of War*, by Montague Bernard.

anarchy and ignorance of the times, would not have existed.

In the interesting chronicles of Froissart we gain an insight into the character of knighthood, and learn the good and evil of chivalry. Almost every page tells the same tale of towns and villages laid waste by fire and sword. "*Ils roboient et pilloient et ex-illoient et ardoient*"⁽¹⁾—it was the English or the French, as the case might be, who thus "burnt, exyled, robbed, and pyllled."⁽²⁾ Wild forays were made on unoffending districts, often without apparently the shadow of excuse. But amidst the carnage and the smouldering ruins, some bright spirits, mindful of their vows, start forth to protect the helpless, and to stay the hand of the spoiler.⁽³⁾ When armies were drawn up in battle array, a knight would often dash forward from the ranks, mounted on a "*fleur de coursier*," and with courteous deportment challenge any other knight to mortal combat. Individual instances of personal valour were innumerable. The challenge of course accepted, there was the clashing of bright armour, and probably one of the antagonists hurled to the ground. The other leaps off his horse, and the sword or dagger would do the rest, unless the vanquished surrender; and then a handsome ransom is the result which, on the faith

(1) Froissart, *Chroniques*, *passim*, edit. Buchon, 1835.

(2) Froissart, translated by Lord Berners, edit. 1812, *passim*.

(3) *E.g.*, "Avec le dit Messire Thomas de Hollande avoit plusieurs gentils chevaliers d'Angleterre qui rescourent (*empêchèrent*) maint meschef à faire, mainte belle bourgeoise et mainte dame de cloître à violer." (Froissart, i. 225.)

of knightly word, is agreed to be paid, whether the captor be afterwards in his turn captured or not. Then the conqueror tends him most carefully, binds up his wounds, and they become really brothers-in-arms.

The fraternity and companionship of arms was an interesting feature of the chivalric times. Knights were generally errant after their investiture, and to visit foreign courts and countries in quest of adventure and for the sake of extending their fame, was considered one of the duties of the order. We may thus form some conception of the expenses entailed by its assumption, and can appreciate the disinclination so often manifested of qualifying for the dignity. Christine de Pisan has assigned a prominent place to the necessity of travelling as forming one of the accomplishments of the chivalrous character.

" Gentil homme, qui veulx proeece acq'rre ;
Escoutes ci ; entens qu'il te faut faire.
Armes suivre t' esteut en mainte terre ;
À voyager souvent te doit moult plaire ;
Princes et cours estranges tu dois querre,
Tout enquerir leur estat et affaire." (1)

So also Piers Plowman says that knights should

" Riden and rappen doun
In reaumes aboute,
And taken transgressores,
And tyen hem faste,
Till treuthe hadde y-termyned
Hire trespas to the ende.
And that is profession apertli
That apendeth to knyghtes." (2)

And in Chaucer's admirable description of the knight

(1) *Harl. MSS.* 4,431, fol. 47, a, b, in *Cent balades*.

(2) Vol. i., p. 20, edit. 1842.

we read of his travelling to Lithuania, and even Russia :

“ In Lettowe hadde he reysed and in Ruce,
No cristen man so ofte of his degre.”

Acquaintances formed casually on their travels often cemented a perpetual bond of amity. They voluntarily shared each other's fortunes, good or bad ; they divided their plunder, and even their honours. They became, in fact, *fratres jurati* ; and perhaps in allusion to this, Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Richard II.—

“ I am sworn brother sweet
To grim necessity.” (1)

Froissart, in his piquant manner, describes a scene at the siege of Caen (A.D. 1346), where some of these travelled knights met under peculiar circumstances. The Count d'Eu and the Count of Tankarville, when they saw that there were no hopes of saving the town from the English, desired to surrender themselves. They fortunately espied a gentle English knight (Sir Thomas de Holland), who had but one eye (and therefore possibly they thought it easier to get the *blind* side of him), whose acquaintance they had made abroad in Granada, Prussia, and elsewhere. They were re-assured at seeing him, and called out, “ *Messire Thomas*, will you speak with us ? ” “ Who

(1) So Falstaff: “ He talks as familiarly of John of Gaunt as if he had been sworn brother to him.” (2 *Hen. IV.*, iii. 2.)—See also Du Cange's 21st *Dissertation*, subjoined to Joinville. Robert de Oily and Roger de Ivery are recorded there as sworn brothers (*fratres jurati*) in William of Normandy's expedition to England, and they shared the honours bestowed on either of them.

are you, Seigneurs, that know me?" asked the English knight. They mentioned their names, and begged that he would make them his prisoners, which of course he was glad to do, as well on his own account as theirs, for he was thus enabled to preserve their lives, and had a certainty of a large ransom (*Chron.*, i. 224). For this service Edward III. granted to Sir Thomas Holland 80,000 florins (*florinorum de scuto*), to be received out of the subsidy of wool.⁽¹⁾ Holinshed differs as to the identity, and says, "Whatsoever Froissard doth report of the yielding of these two noble men (the Constable of France and the Earl of Tankerville), the said earl was taken by one Legh, ancestor to Sir Peter Legh, now living."

Some traits in Edward III.'s character are forcible illustrations of the manners of the age. At the siege of Calais, when the defenders of the town found provisions becoming scanty, they cast out all who were not available for its defence—men, women, and children to the number of 1,700; these had to pass through the lines of the English army. When the king was made aware of their destitute condition, he gave them all a good dinner, and presented each with two shillings (*esterlins.*)⁽²⁾ When the siege was

⁽¹⁾ Rymer, *sub. an.* 1346.

⁽²⁾ Froissart, i. 245.—It is fair to state that Knighton differs in this statement. According to his account, 500 persons only were excluded from the town, and they perished from hunger and cold, between the town and the camp, because Edward would not allow them to pass. The story of the six burgesses, like all other extraordinary stories, is open to suspicion; and so much the more, as Avesbury (p. 167), who is particular in his narration of the surrender of Calais, says nothing about it. (See note to Hume's *Hist.*, ii. 509,

over, and the town in his possession, he invited the prisoners of distinction to supper. Geffroy de Chargny, one of the guests, had endeavoured to bribe the governor of the castle to betray his trust for the price of twenty thousand crowns. The king discovered the plot, and took means to defeat it. After supper, the king walked among his guests and conversed. His bearing was dignified; he was in festive habit, and wore a chaplet of pearls on his head. He addressed De Chargny. "Messire Geffroy," said he, "I have no cause to be very fond of you, seeing that you tried to dispossess me of that which cost me so much to obtain. But God helped me on that occasion, as I trust he will continue to do." He passed on to Eustache de Ribeument. Now this gallant knight had met the king in terrific combat, and had twice beaten him down on his knees; but Edward was at last victor, and received his sword. Eustache did not know who his adversary was, for that day the king fought under the banner of Sir Walter Manny. There was generosity and magnanimity in the monarch's address. "Sir Eustache, you excel all other knights that I ever saw in fighting. I never had so much trouble with any one as with you. You deserve the prize, and all the knights of my court accord it to you." So saying, the king removed the rich chaplet from his own brow, and placed it on Sir Eustache's. "I present this to you, as the best combatant in the

and Lingard.)—The subject has also been noticed in the *Biographie Universelle*, v. *Saint-Pierre* (Eustache de).—Also *Mém. de l'Acad. de Belles-Lettres*, tom. xxxvii.

field to-day on either side, and I beg of you to wear it for a year, for my sake. And as I know you to be gay and gallant, and often in the society of the fair, tell them that I have bestowed this upon you. You are my prisoner, but I free you from arrest. Go to-morrow, if it please you."⁽¹⁾

Edward the Black Prince was the flower of English knighthood, as he has been rightly designated.⁽²⁾ He combined all that is most characteristic of the age in which he lived, and

"By his light
Did all the chivalry of England move
To do brave acts."—2 *Hen. IV.*, ii. 3.

Religious devotion, undaunted courage, modesty, courtesy, filial submission, reverence to age and authority, generosity to his fallen enemy—all these were conspicuous in him;⁽³⁾ but there were dark spots even in his bright career. Witness the barbarous sacking of Limoges, the last military transaction in which he was engaged.

Though labouring under his fatal illness, he besieged and took the place, and then gave orders that every one should be put to the sword. Men, women, and children threw themselves on their knees,

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

⁽²⁾ "Edouard, prince de Galles et d'Aquitaine, fleur de toute chevalerie du monde en ce temps." (Froissart, i. 707.)

⁽³⁾ One can imagine the natural elation of a young spirit consequent on achieving such a triumph as that of Poitiers, a victory won—and the first—on his sole responsibility; and yet how modestly he writes of it to the Bishop of Worcester:—"Nous approcheames tant q'la bataille se prist entre nous en tiele maniere q'les ennemis estoient disconfitez; grace en soit Dieu." (See *Archæol.*, i. 212.)

as he passed on through the devoted city, crying "Mercy, mercy!" and there was no mercy!⁽¹⁾ But he who was untouched by these cries was accessible elsewhere. He was struck by the gallantry of three French knights, whom he saw fighting against fearful odds, and his anger was appeased.

When he died, Englishmen thought that all their hopes had died with him; and matters certainly went crossly with the kingdom for some time. But the life of a great nation is not bound up with the life of a single man; and, fortunately, the valour, courtesy, and chivalry of England are not buried in the grave of the Plantagenet prince. He was the first of a long line of heroes, and the brave who have fought the battles of their country in these latter days at Sobraon and Ferozeshah—at the Alma and Balaklava—at Delhi and Lucknow, are true descendants of those who fought at Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt.

The romantic story of the Black Prince assuming, after Crecy, the plume of ostrich feathers which had been worn by the King of Bohemia, who fell there, must, unfortunately, be dismissed as fabulous. Antiquaries and genealogists have exercised their ingenuity on it for the last three centuries, and it would be an undeniable gratification that the popular tradition should be confirmed. The first notice which exists

(¹) More than 3,000 men, women, and children were slain and beheaded that day: "Dieu en ait les âmes; car ils furent bien martyrs," says the chronicler. (Froissart, i. 620.)—See Dean Stanley's interesting memoir of the Black Prince in *Memorials of Canterbury*.

of the circumstance is contained in a MS. of John de Ardern,⁽¹⁾ a physician in the time of the Black Prince, and his assertion is very positive; he distinctly affirms that the Prince derived the feathers from the King of Bohemia, whom he slew at Cressy. His words are:—"Et nota quod talim pennam albam portebat Edwardus, primogenitus filius Edwardi, &c., et conquisivit de Rege Boemiæ quem interfecit apud Cresse in Francia."

One would suppose this to be conclusive. The mediæval leech was evidently a gossip; and if he did not know the truth regarding what must have been a story in all the "upper circle" of his times—the sphere of his practice—who should know? But none of the other contemporary writers make any allusion to what would have been a very interesting incident. Camden is the next writer who alludes to the subject, in his *Remains*; and it is somewhat remarkable that in his first edition he writes, "The tradition is that the Prince won the feathers at Poictiers;" but in the second he gives another version, and states, "The truth is that he won them at the battle of Cressy, from John, King of Bohemia, whom he there slew." One would be inclined to infer from the correction that he had subsequently discovered some additional evidence which bore on the subject; but he cites no authority for the assertion. Had he seen Ardern's MS.? the words are nearly identical.

(1) There is more than one copy of Ardern's curious treatise in the British Museum.

Now plumes of feathers were not generally worn in helmets until the reign of Henry V., and then as portions of costume, not as personal crests. Moreover, the crest of the King of Bohemia was *not* three ostrich feathers, but the entire wing of a vulture, as may be seen engraved in Olivarius Veredius (*Geneal. Fland.*, pls. 63, 64).⁽¹⁾ None of the contemporaneous chroniclers (and there are many) have recorded that the King of Bohemia fell by the hand of the Black Prince. His body was found amidst a heap of slain in the *mêlée*, and it would be in entire opposition to the character of the gallant young Edward to attack and kill a blind and defenceless monarch, whose ransom—even taking that view of it—would have been more valuable than his death. Witness his generosity and courtesy to King John, after Poitiers. It is pretty clear that the Black Prince did not kill the King of Bohemia, and more certain that he could not have plucked ostrich feathers from him, had he done so.

Sir Harris Nicolas, who has collected all the information on this subject, states that the first time that the feathers are mentioned in any document is in an indenture of "The Queen's plate, date after 1369, which is an alms-dish, marked with a sable escutcheon, charged with ostrich feathers, believed to have belonged to Queen Philippa, either as a badge of her family or as arms borne in right of some territories appertaining to her house." (*Archæol.*, xxxi. 350.)

(¹) A Flemish poem, quoted by Baron Reiffenberg, in his edition of Barante's *History of the Dukes of Burgundy*, describes the crest of the King of Bohemia as "two wings of a vulture, besprinkled with linden leaves of gold." (*Vide Archæol.*, xxix. 50.)

The ostrich feather was a favourite badge with many junior branches of the royal family. It occurs on the seal of one of the Black Prince's brothers, Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, who never was Prince of Wales.⁽¹⁾ Queen Anne, the first consort of Richard II., is represented on her tomb in Westminster Abbey wearing a dress richly embroidered with ostriches. The blind Bohemian king was her paternal grandfather. The Black Prince was evidently very proud of the distinction, and several times in his will makes special mention of it. He directs that his chapel shall be ornamented "with our badge of ostrich feathers."

With respect to the mottoes, "*Houmout*"⁽²⁾ (sometimes erroneously spelt "*Houmont*," compounded of two old German words, meaning *magnanimous*), and "*Ich Dien*," Mr. Planché (*History of British Costume*, p. 139) is of opinion that they had no connection with the badge. They were often used by the Prince in lieu of his own nominal signature. An instance of this is appended to one of the few personal relics of this illustrious individual which time has spared to us. It is preserved in the Record Office, and relates to a grant in favour of John de Esquet, and to this the Prince, by letter, directs John de Heuxworth to affix his seal, and subscribes the order, not with the

⁽¹⁾ Vide Willement's *Heraldic Notices of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 45-49.—Also *Collect. Top. et Geneal.*, iii. 58.

⁽²⁾ Or more literally, High Spirit, "*Hoch Mout*." Mr. Planché considers the mottoes should be read together, "I serve (or am influenced by) a high spirit," similarly as the motto of the Percy family, "*Esperance en Dieu*" was abbreviated to "*Esperance*." (*Archæol.*, xxxii. 69.)

signature of his name or title, but with his two well-known mottoes: "*De par, Homout, Ich Dene.*" This is the only known specimen of his writing extant.

The seal of the Black Prince is also to be seen in the same place appended to a grant by him to his brother, John of Gaunt, dated 1370, *twenty-four years after the battle of Cressy*, with a *single* feather on each side of the shield; and the same badge occurs again upon the seal to another grant in 1374. Sir H. Nicolas describes eight of the Prince's seals, from which it appears that the feathers were omitted on some of the Prince of Wales's seals, which were engraved after 1346, the year of the battle of Cressy. Prince Edward (afterwards Edward VI., but who was never Prince of Wales) used the badge in an unprecedented form, as a plume of three ostrich feathers passing through a label, inscribed *Ich Dien*, the feathers surmounted by the Prince's coronet. In a seal of Queen Elizabeth, affixed to a document addressed to the Emperor of Cathay, 1602, the Queen's arms have lions for supporters, each upholding a single feather.⁽¹⁾

The graceful form of plume which is now in use was first adopted by Prince Henry, the accomplished son of James I., who, like the Black Prince, died before his father.

In conclusion, Sir H. Nicolas is strongly impressed with the belief that the feathers and mottoes were derived from the House of Hainault, possibly from the Comté d'Ostrevant, which formed the appanage of the eldest sons of the counts of that province.

(1) *Archæol.*, xxix. 392.

CHAPTER VI.

ARMS OF THE KNIGHT—LANCE—SWORD, ANCIENT AND MODERN—
DAGGER—MACE—AXE—SHIELD.

THE lance was the proper and peculiar arm of the knight; the other weapons in use by that order were the sword, dagger, mace, and the axe. The Lance.

THE LANCE was sometimes designated by the various appellations of spear, glaive, and staff. The head was always made of the best-tempered steel, and was commonly of the leaf form, or lozenge. In Froissart we read of "*un glaive rude et fort à un long fer bien acéré.*"⁽¹⁾ We read also of "*glaives enfumés*" in the same chronicle (i. 101); whether, or how hardened by the action of fire, does not appear. Weapons manufactured at Bordeaux were held in high estimation. "*Et quand ces Flamands,*" writes the same chronicler, "*sentirent ces fers de Bordeaux dont ils se vëoient empalés, ils reculoient.*"⁽²⁾ The shafts were generally made of ash, so that the writers who indulged in Latin verse frequently used *fraxinus* to denote a lance or spear. Thus Guillaume le Breton: "*Utraque per clypeos ad corpora fraxinus*

⁽¹⁾ i. 118.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, ii. 238.

ibat." (p. 263.) ⁽¹⁾ Chaucer furnishes his knight with a lance of cypress:—

"His spere was of fine cipres,
That bodeth werre and nothing pres,
That heed ful scharp i-grounde."

Its usual length was eighteen feet, until knights dismounted and fought on foot, when it was reduced to five feet. Lances were ornamented with a banderolle near the point, which gave them a handsome appearance. Various names were bestowed upon them, according to circumstances.⁽²⁾ The streamers terminating in two or more pointed ends are found at the close of the eleventh and during the twelfth centuries.⁽³⁾ When the charge had been made with the lance, and that weapon was no longer available in close fighting, it was cast aside, and the contest carried on with the sword:—

"Après le froisseis des lances,
Qui ja sont par terre semées,
Giettent mains à blanches espées,
Desquels ils s'entrenvaissent."—*Guiart*.

the Sword.

The SWORD worn at the side was an important item in the knight's equipment. Sometimes he was provided with another, a smaller one, called *estoc*, a stabbing sword, carried at his saddle-bow, as Wace tells of the Norman knights:—

"Chescun out à l'arcon devant
Une espée bone pendant."—*Roman de Rou*.

⁽¹⁾ Virgil has "myrtus validis hastilibus." (*Geor.*, ii. 447.)

⁽²⁾ "On ornait les lances d'une banderole," &c. (*La Noue*, Discours 18.)—"Pencils for your speres," (MS. in Coll. of Arms, i. 8.)

⁽³⁾ See Harl. MSS., 603.—Also Bayeux tapestry.

The sword-belt worn round the waist, or rather (inconveniently, one would imagine) round the hips,⁽¹⁾ became a principal appendage of the armour of the fourteenth century.

There are instances of swords being worn on the dexter side. See the Bayeux tapestry, and three effigies in the Temple Church; also the monumental brass of Sir John Drayton, who died in 1411, and is buried in the church at Dorchester, Oxfordshire (*Vide Gough's Sepulchral Monuments*, i. 201); also on the monument of Pierre de Dreux, figured in Daniel's *Milice Française*, tom. i., lib. vi.

Swords, if they were not the first, were certainly among the earliest artificial weapons made use of, perhaps even before the discovery of metals, fashioned of some heavy wood, hardened by fire, a modification of clubs, and such primitive weapons. Bronze swords seem to have been next introduced, until the art of indurating iron was discovered.⁽²⁾ There is very early mention of the sword in the Scriptures: the "flaming sword of the cherubim," in Gen. iii. 24. The first notice of it as a weapon of strife is when "Simeon and Levi took each man his sword, and came upon the city boldly, and slew all the males." (Gen. xxxiv. 25). It is also made use of as a symbol: "The sword shall never depart from thy house" (2 Sam. xii. 10); and "The word of God is sharper than a two-edged sword" (Heb. iv. 12). It seems to have been a short weapon then. David carried with ease the sword of Goliath, a

(1) "Gird thy sword upon thy thigh;" so we read in *The Psalms*.

(2) *Vide Archæol.*, iii. 555.

man so much larger than he was. In former times, when so much depended on the quality of the sword, the selection of it was naturally a subject of great importance. Hence the art of tempering steel became in great request, and the names of celebrated sword-smiths, or armourers, appear throughout the traditions of the North, and indeed in the epic poems of all nations.⁽¹⁾ The swords of distinguished individuals and of celebrated combatants, from the earlier period until now, have always been highly prized; they were considered precious enough to be preserved in temples and sanctuaries; even if we refer back to the time of David of Israel, who received at the hands of the priest "the sword of Goliath, the Philistine," which was kept "wrapped in a cloth behind the ephod."⁽²⁾ Joan of Arc is said to have taken Charles Martel's, which was preserved in the Chapel of St. Catherine, at Fierbois.⁽³⁾ They were often made subjects of bequests and wills.⁽⁴⁾ The intrinsic worth of the

(¹) This is curiously shown in the laws of Ethelbert, which enacts that "if a man slay another, he is to pay his wergylde (a life price); but not so, if the slayer happen to be the king's armourer, or messenger. In that case he is to pay only a moderated wergylde of one hundred shillings." (Kemble's *Saxons*, i. 280.)

(²) 1 Samuel xxi. 9.

(³) Hall's *Chronicle*, fol. xxi.—Holinshed, p. 600.

(⁴) In the will of Prince Æthelstan (son of Ethelred II.), dated A.D. 1015, ten swords are there devised to different persons, one of whom is the prince's sword cutler, Elfnoth. Among the swords bequeathed are the sword of King Offa, the sword with the fluted hilt, the sword with the cross, the sword which Ulfeytel owned, and that with the silver hilt, which Woolfricke made.—"A sword, ornamented with gold," formed part of the distinguishing qualification of the *eorl* and *ceorl*. (Thorpe's *Anglo-Saxon Laws*, i. 186.)—Eginhard tells us that the belt of Charlemagne was "of gold or silver; that the hilt of his sword was made of gold and precious stones."

weapon in early times often made the gift valuable, *per se*, apart from its reputation. The Saracens petted and named their swords like children. Mahomet called his *Kaled ben Walid* the "sword of God." There is something very striking in the application of proper names to famous weapons. The custom shows the rarity and the value of good arms, and the personal affection, as it were, which the wearers had for them; they were not mere chattels, but beings half instinct with life and consciousness of their own. Tegner, in his beautiful Swedish poem of *Frithiof*, describes the hero's sword, "Angurwadel," with its engraved runes, that grew bright and burning on the eve of battle. Charlemagne's sword was called *Joyeuse* :—

"Et qui nommée estoit Joieuse,
Et gent courtoise et outrageuse,
Quant par ire la descendoit
Un Chevalier armé fendoit
A un seul cop tout contreval,
Et trenchoit parmi le cheval,
Cele espée aige toute nue
El tresor S. Denis tenuë."⁽¹⁾

The Umfrevilles held the lordship of Riddesdale, in Northumberland, through the sword which William the Conqueror wore when he entered that

(¹) Guil. Guiart, *Hist. Franc. MS.* — "This sword," says Mr. Howard, "is of the finest temper, and the ornaments of its handle and sheath were in the purest Arabian gold. The tradition is, that it was sent to Charlemagne by Haroun al Rashid. It was claimed by the Emperor of Austria, and has been removed from Aix-la-Chapelle to Vienna." (*Archæol.*, xxix. 370.)—It is figured in the splendid work, *Clūnodea S. R. Imperii* (Taf. xxiv., Fig. 33), edited by Canon F. D. Boch; a copy is deposited in the Art Library, Kensington Museum.

county :⁽¹⁾ and Richard I. gave to Tancred, King of Sicily,

"The gode swerd Caliburne, that Arthur luffed so welle."⁽²⁾

The sword, probably because it is more constantly carried about the person than any other weapon, has acquired a peculiar connection with the circumstances of the wearer. To this day the surrender of a sword denotes submission, and the breaking of it degradation. In many countries it is regarded as the emblem of power. In Anglo-Saxon times, a gilt sword was one of the distinguishing emblems of a thane,⁽³⁾ and the sword of state is still borne before our sovereign on important occasions.⁽⁴⁾ The kings who preceded

(¹) Blount's *Ancient Tenures*.

(²) *Morte d'Arthur*.—Ricardus Rex: Peter Langtoft's *Chron.*, edit. Hearne, p. 154.—Also Hoveden, *sub. an.* 1191.

(³) *Ancient Laws of England* (Record Commission), pp. 80, 81.

(⁴) There are three swords which form part of the Regalia, and are borne before our kings, and are preserved in the Jewel House of the Tower. The principal one is the Sword of Mercy, called *Curtana*, and is carried between the two Swords of Justice. The origin of its name is involved in obscurity; its antiquity is undoubted. Matthew Paris (*an.* 1236) tells us that the sword of St. Edward, *qui Curtein dicitur*, was borne by the Earl of Chester at the marriage ceremony of Henry III.; but whence it was derived, whether from the formidable Uggiero the Dane or the famed Orlando, will probably never be decided.

"Joyeuse, Corto, Flamberge, Dardonnais,
Rompié, Durandal et Courtin le Danois."—

(Morel, *Triomphe de Hen. IV.*, quoted in Du Cange, *v. Curtana*.)

The name, however, has for many centuries been given to the first royal sword of England. It is mentioned in the *Liber Regalis*, in the reign of Richard II. It occurs again in the time of Henry IV. (*Chron. Rishanger*, MS. Cott., Faust, b. ix.) and in subsequent reigns. In the wardrobe account for the year 1483 are "iij swordes, wherof oon with a flat poynte, called Curtana, and ij other swordes, all ij swordes covered in a yerde di' of crymysyn tisshue cloth."

Henry III. are represented on their great seals with a sword in their right hands instead of the sceptre. Oaths were taken upon the sword; the Teuton swore by his good sword, the symbol of the Deity worshipped by his Scythian kinsmen; ⁽¹⁾ and after the introduction of Christianity, the arms were consecrated by the priests, and the sword being cruciform, became appropriate for a solemn appeal.

“Swear by thy sword.” (*Winter’s Tale*, ii. 3.)

And in Spenser’s *Faëry Queen* :—

“So suffering him to rise, he made him swear
By his own sword, and by the cross thereon.” (vi., l. 43.)

The Earl of Warwick, previous to the battle of Towton (Co. York) in 1461, where Queen Margaret was defeated, having invoked the assistance of the Almighty, swore that he was determined to share the fate of the humblest soldier, and solemnised his vow by kissing the hilt of his sword. ⁽²⁾ The sword, being carried by freemen only, became the symbol of manumission, as the *accolée*—the blow on the neck, at the investiture of

It is of plain steel, gilded. The blade is thirty-two inches in length, and nearly two in width. The hilt is covered with fine gold wire, and the point is flat; the cross is of steel gilt. The other two swords are the sword of Justice to the Spirituality, and the sword of Justice to the Temporality. They are about the same length, but sharp at the points. There is also a sword of State, with which the king is girded before he is crowned. This is more richly ornamented than the others, but forms no part of the Regalia, and must be considered as belonging personally to the sovereign. (See Taylor’s *Regality*, p. 71.)

⁽¹⁾ See Palgrave’s *Hist. of the English Commonwealth*, i., pt. ii., p. 115.

⁽²⁾ Habington, p. 432.—Monstrelet, *an.* 1461.

knights—perhaps betokened emancipation from their subservience as esquires. At the election of knights for the shire, the successful candidates are still girt with a sword, the emblem of political authority. Decapitation with the sword is considered more honourable than hanging or strangling in those countries where such modes of execution are enforced. The efficiency of no other weapon depends so much on the courage and skill of the individual as the sword. Those who have seen the dexterity of Eastern swordsmen can bear witness to their extraordinary performances. The feats of strength recorded of ancient swordsmen almost surpass one's belief, and would appear to have required such a weapon as

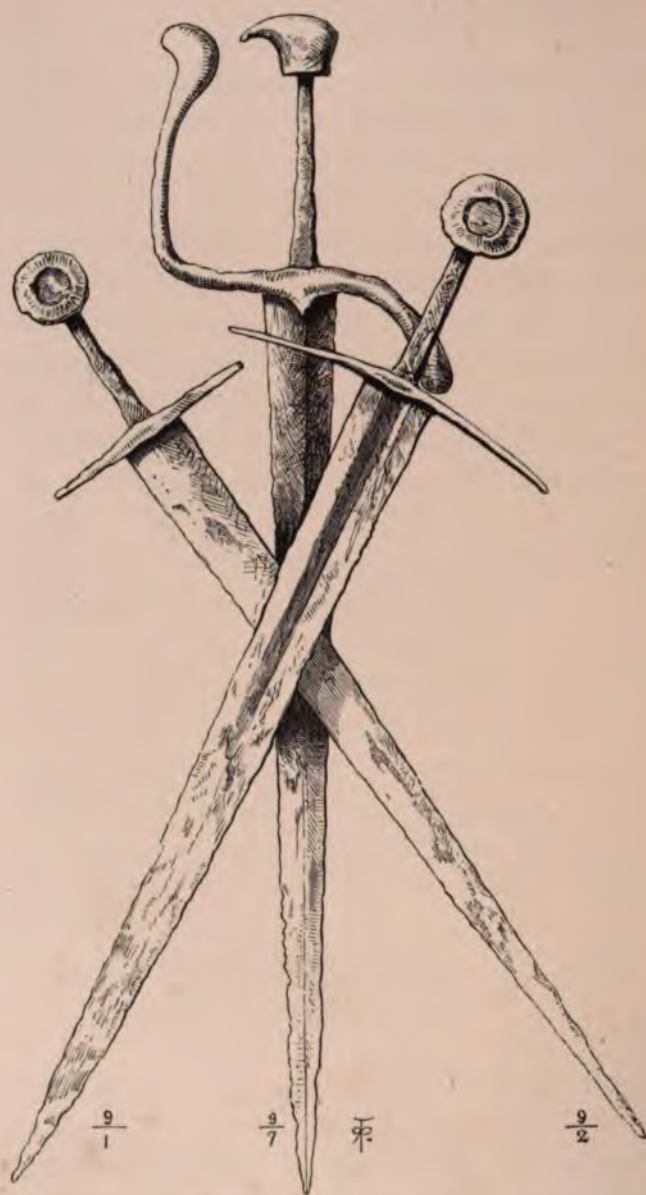
———"The sword
Of Michael from the armoury of God,
Given to him tempered so that neither keen
Nor solid might resist that edge."

Guiart relates of Charlemagne that with his sword he could cleave a knight in armour right down to the pommel of the saddle, and cut into the very backbone of the charger:—

"Un Chevalier armé fendoit
A un seul cop tout contreval,
Et trenchoit parmi le cheval."—

Hist. France, MS. de Car. Mag.

Godefroi de Bouillon is reported to have cut a Turk in half from the shoulder down to the hips, at the siege of Antioch. A similar feat is attributed by William of Tyre to the Emperor Conrad, at the siege of Damascus. Du Cange avows, after having seen an ancient sword in the church of S. Pharon, at



SWORDS FROM THE TOWER.

¶ A Cross Sword, with flat Wheel-pommel. Probably of the Thirteenth or Fourteenth Century. Upon the Blade, 2 feet 3 inches in length, are traces of an Inscription.

§ Similar Sword, of about the same period. Blade 3 feet 3 inches.

‡ Short Back Sword, or Coutel, with Finger Guard. Early Sixteenth Century.

Meaux, which was said to have belonged to Ogier the Dane, that he did not altogether discredit these reports, however improbable they might appear.⁽¹⁾ Froissart says that the sword of Archibald Douglas (A.D. 1378) was two ells long; this is mentioned as a remarkable length, and scarcely any one else could raise it. (ii., p. 18.) The same author speaks of great feats of arms performed by a Churchman, who wielded a two-handed sword. (i., p. 394.)

The three swords on Plate IV. are copied from specimens in the Tower: $\frac{9}{1}$ A cross sword, with flat wheel pommel, probably of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. On the blade, which is two feet three inches in length, are traces of an inscription. Found in a peat-bed at Newbury, Berks.

$\frac{9}{2}$ Another of the same type and period. The blade, three feet three inches, is fluted. Found in constructing the coffer-dam for the erection of the Houses of Parliament in 1838, in a natural bed of concrete, eight or ten feet below the surface.

$\frac{9}{7}$ ⁽²⁾ Short back-sword (*coutel*) with finger-guard. Date, early sixteenth century.

Presentation swords were decorated in a very costly manner. The account of one of the thirteenth century has descended to us, having been preserved in the Close Rolls. It appears that at York, on Christmas-day, 1262, Henry III. conferred knighthood on Alexander III., the young King of Scotland, who

⁽¹⁾ Du Cange, v. *Spatha*.

⁽²⁾ These are the class numbers in the Official Catalogue, arranged by Mr. John Hewitt, Memb. R. Archaeol. Inst.

the day following espoused the Princess Margaret, Henry's daughter. A handsome sword was ordered for the occasion :—

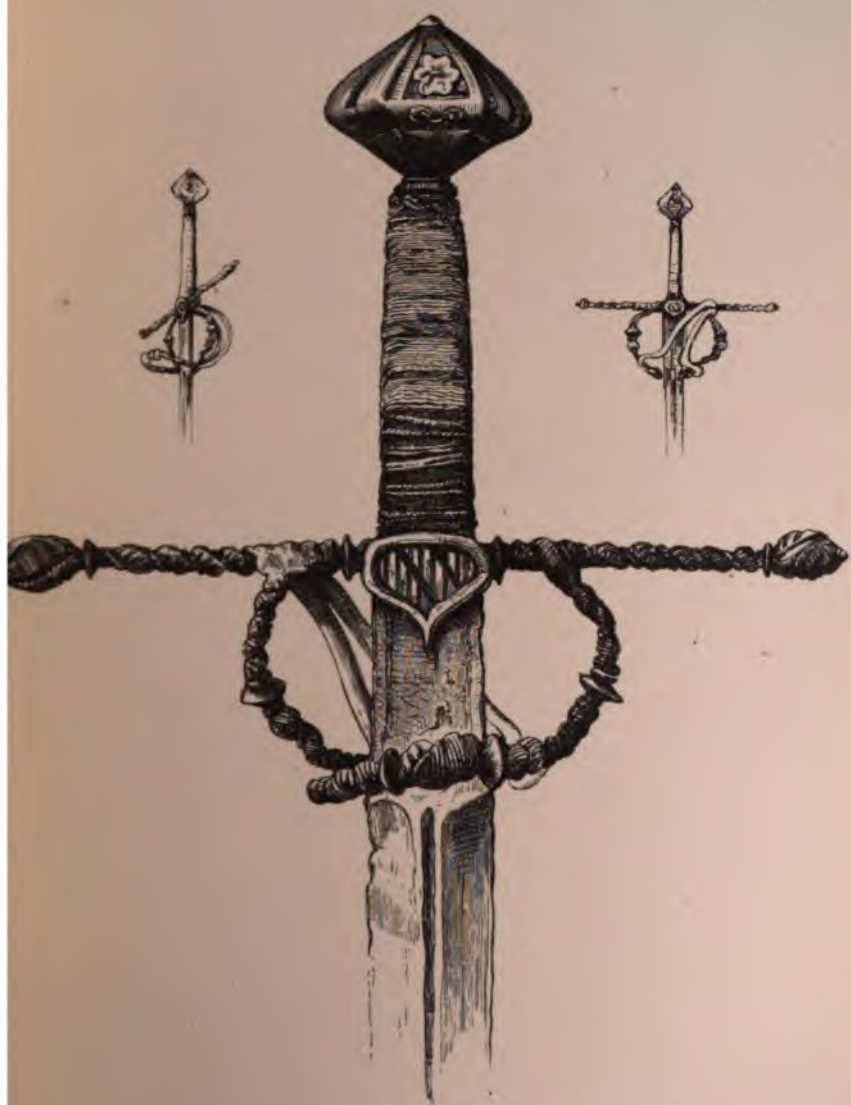
“Claus. 36 Hen. III., m. 31. Precept to Edward of Westminster, that he will procure without delay a certain handsome sword, and have made a scabbard of silk, with the pomel of silver, well and fairly ornamented, and a rich belt to hang therefrom ; so that the said sword may be delivered to him at York, with which Alexander, the illustrious King of Scotland, may be decorated, together with a military girdle, at the feast of the Nativity of Our Lord next ensuing. Witness at Lichfield, 21st November.”⁽¹⁾

Amongst the royal properties at the Tower, there was formerly a magnificent weapon of gold, called “the swerd of Spaigne, garnished with v greet baleys, vi greet saphirs, iiij^{xx} xix greet perles upon the scaberge ; and the hilt is garnished with iij baleys, ij saphirs, xvj greet perles ; and the pomell of the same is garnished with a baleys, a saphir, x perles, weying in all x marc and a half and half an unce of troye, y^e prys ccc xxxiiij li. vj s. viij d.”—This sword was pledged by Henry VI. (See *Archæol.*, xxi. 36.)

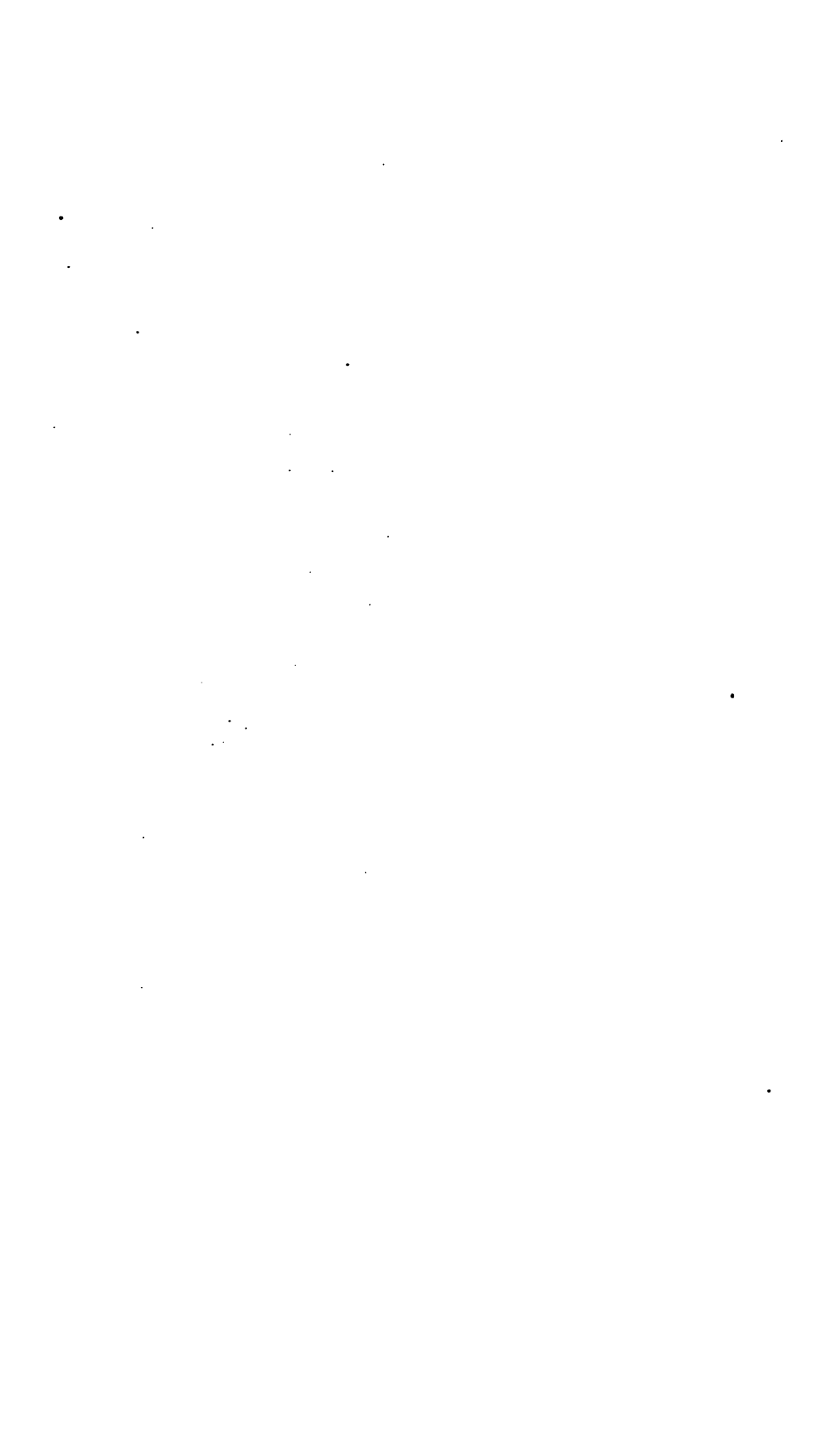
PLATE V.—A graceful sword, with double-edged blade, spirally twisted cross-piece, and forefinger and thumb-guard. The pommel ornamented with roses, which, combined with its date, A.D. 1455, identifies

⁽¹⁾ The original is in Latin. — It is also copied in Walpole's *Painting*, i. 13.

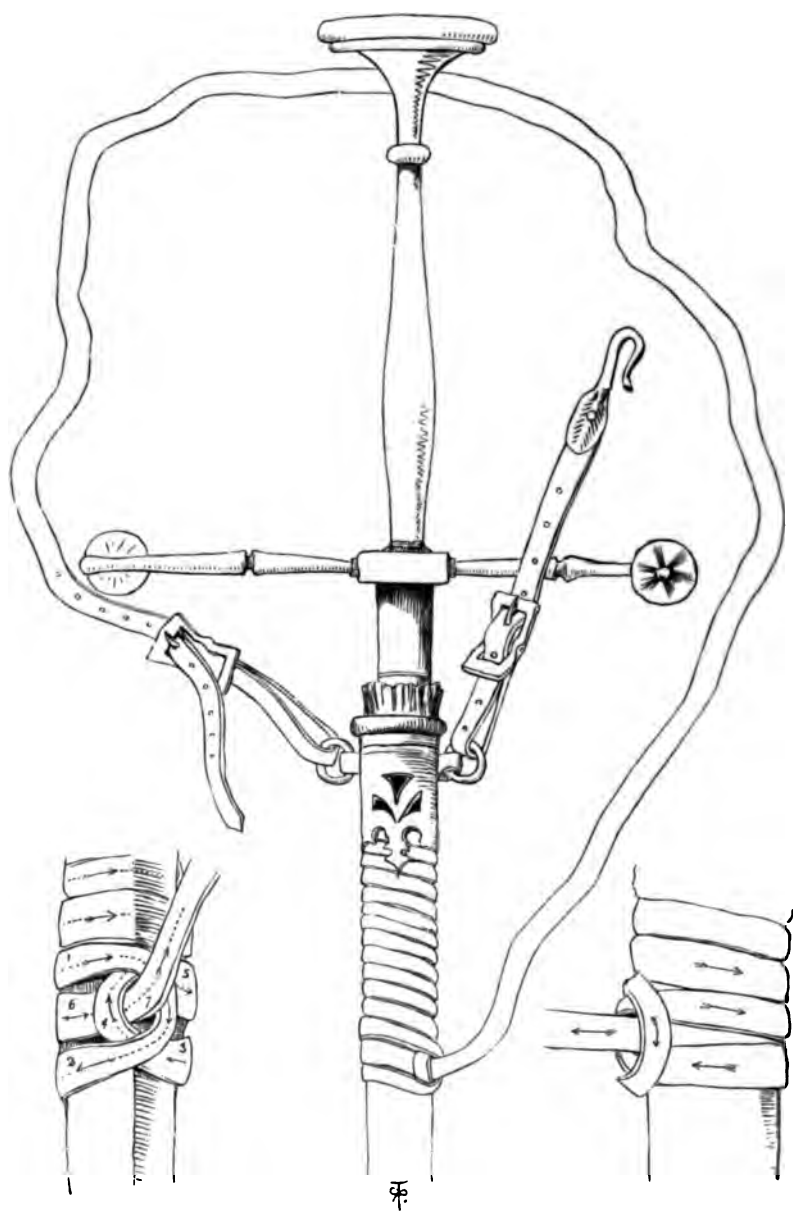
No. 5.



Knight's Sword, with double-edged Blade, spirally-twisted Cross-piece, and Forefinger and Thumb Guard; the Pommel ornamented with Roses. A.D. 1455. Length of Blade, 4 feet 3 inches. (From the Collection of Arthur James Lewis, Esq.)



No. 6.



Sword of Fifteenth Century, with the knotting of the Belt.

it with the Wars of the Roses. Length of blade, 4 feet 3 inches. From the collection of Arthur James Lewis, Esq.

The sword and dagger taken by Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, from James IV., King of Scotland, at the battle of Flodden Field, were presented by a successor of his, in 1681, to the College of Arms, and have remained in its custody ever since. The length of the sword-blade from hilt to point is 3 feet and $\frac{3}{8}$ inch; the hilt is $6\frac{7}{8}$ inch. One side of the blade is inscribed "Maista Domingo;" on the other, apparently the words "Espoir conforta Le Gvenal." (See *Archæol.*, xxxiii. 340.)

The blade of the dagger is $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the hilt $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length.

In 1562 a proclamation was made, "that no sword to be butt a yerd, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of length the blad, and dagars butt xij ynche the blad." (Quoted in *Diary of Henry Machyn*, p. 281, Cam. Soc.)

Damascus formerly possessed, as is well known, a world-wide fame for its manufacture of sword-blades. The extraordinary prices that these have fetched sufficiently attest the estimation in which they were held, although in the present day swords of equal or superior quality might be produced at one-twentieth the expense.

PLATE VI.—The sword here represented is very narrow in the blade, and almost square in the section; the remarkable feature is the thong and its knotting. We also learn the arrangement of the sword-belt of that time, about 1480. (Parham Coll.)

Bordeaux had an ancient celebrity for its cutlery. Mention is frequently made of it in Froissart, *e.g.*: “Le seigneur de Bercler (Lord Berkeley) prit son épée qui étoit de Bordeaux, bonne et légère et roide assez.” This was on an occasion of an encounter between Berkeley and a squire of Picardy, during the battle of Poitiers; and we learn from it how the sword was sometimes used, viz., held under the arm like a lance, so as to give greater weight to its thrust.⁽¹⁾ The scene is highly illustrative of the manners of the time. It appears that when the squire perceived that matters were going untowardly for the French, he thought of discretion, and resolved to fly. He luckily met his page with a fresh horse for him, and mounting it, rode away alone. Lord Berkeley, “a young lusty knight, who had reared his banner that day for the first time” (*i. e.*, had been created banneret), caught sight of the fugitive, and gave chase; for a full league he pursued him, and being mounted on a fleet courser, gained upon him. The squire thought it was time to manœuvre; so suddenly halted, wheeled about, and came charging full tilt against the Englishman, with his sword at the rest. Berkeley raised his arm to strike him with his sword as he passed; but the squire bobbed down, and thus avoided it, and was enabled to strike the knight on the sword-arm; the sword was knocked out of his

(1) “L’épée au poing et la mit dessous son bras en manière de glaive” (*i.*, p. 352), “and laid his sword in the rest instead of a spear.” (Berners, *i.*, cap. clxiii.)

hand, and fell to the ground. ⁽¹⁾ Berkeley leaped from his horse to recover his sword, but the squire was too quick for him, and, just as he was stooping to pick it up, thrust his sword right through the cuissarts ⁽²⁾ into both the thighs of the knight. Berkeley fell to the ground helpless; then the squire jumped off his horse, ran and picked up the Englishman's sword, and asked if he would yield. The knight demanded his name. "Sir," quoth the squire, "my name is Jean d'Ellenes; but what is yours?" "My name is Thomas, and I am Lord of Berkeley, a fair castle on the river of Severn, in the marches of Wales." "Well, sir," said the squire, "then you shall be my prisoner, and I will bring you to a place of safety, and I will see that you be healed of your hurt." Lord Berkeley admitted that he was his prisoner by the laws of arms, and swore to be his prisoner, rescue or no rescue: then the squire drew out the sword from the knight's thighs, and the wound was open. Then he wrapped and bound it, and set him on his horse, and led him as easily as he

⁽¹⁾ To prevent this accident, the sword was often attached to some portion of the body armour, as may be seen in illustrations of the fourteenth century. (*Vide* the seal of Edward III. engraved in *Rymer*). These precautionary chains appear less commonly in England than in Flanders and Germany. Occasionally, three guard-chains appear attached to the helm. A single chain for this purpose is seen on the figure of Sir Jo. de Northwode, *circa* 1330, at Minster (engraved by Stothard). Sir Roger de Trumpington (Waller's *Brasses*) has this helm-guard attached to his girdle. In the statue of Conrad von Seinsheim, A.D. 1369, given in Dr. Hefner's fine work on *Medieval Costume*, to the breastplate are affixed three guard-chains, for helm, sword, and dagger; on the grip of the sword runs a ring to which its chain is attached.

⁽²⁾ The armour that protected the thighs.

could to Chatelleraut, and there awaited for his sake more than fifteen days, to get him better of his wound; and when he got somewhat better he procured a litter for him, and so brought him at his ease to his house in Picardy. There he remained more than a twelvemonth, till he was perfectly cured; and when he departed he paid for his ransom 6,000 nobles, and so this squire was made a knight by reason of the profit he had of the Lord of Berkeley.

PLATE VII.—English sword, with flat pommel of great rarity. Swept S-hilt, inlaid with silver, evidently English work. On the pommel and extremities of the hilt are medallions of silver inlaid, representing St. George and the Dragon. The sword is similar to the one represented in the portrait of Sir Walter Raleigh. Date, *cir.* 1580. Now in the possession of Mr. Robert Taylor Pritchett, F.S.A.

In the thirteenth century, swords manufactured at Cologne seem to have been held in high estimation.⁽¹⁾ The English do not appear to have excelled in the working of metals; we find that in the fourteenth century "David de Hope, smith, was sent by Edward II. to Paris to learn the method of making swords for battle."⁽²⁾ Douglas and Percy are said to have encountered one another "with swordes, that wear of fyn Millan," in the ancient ballad of *Chevy Chase*. We find "a Millaine knife" in *King Arthur and the King of Cornwall*; and "My habergion, that

(1) *Anc. Arm.*, i. 316.

(2) *Archæol.*, xxvi. 343.

No. 7.



English Sword, with flat Pommel of great rarity; swept **S**-Hilt, inlaid with silver. On the Pommel and extremities of the Hilt are medallions of silver, inlaid, and representing St. George and the Dragon. Date circa A.D. 1580. (Now in the possession of Robert Taylor Pritchett, F.S.A.)

was of Millaine fine," in *Eger and Grine*.⁽¹⁾ In *Sir Degrevant*—

"Bot twey swerdus thei bene
Off *Florence* ful kene."—l. 1,608.

Spain, however, has held the longest repute of all countries in this respect. Polybius (*Hist.*, lib. ii., c. 33) describes the Iberian swords as of peculiar excellence, and that they were adapted for cutting and thrusting, whereas the Celtic swords were for cutting only. Diodorus Siculus (lib. v., c. 30) enlarges on their merits and mode of manufacture; and the greatest proof of their excellence is the fact of their having been adopted in the Roman armies during the second Punic war. (Livy, lib. xxii., c. 46.—See also *Horæ Ferales*, p. 186.) The Moors introduced their Damascene system of additional ornament and tempering, and so early as A.D. 852, according to Conde (i. 285), the *fabrica* at Toledo was in operation. Of that famed swordsmith, Andrea Ferrara, little more can be said than that his name lives on his blades, although many a time his name has been assumed without right. Ford, in his *Hand-book* (ii. 853), makes scanty mention of him. He says that he was an Italian, settled at Zaragoza, but supplies no authority in support of the assertion. Mr. Dillon, another traveller in Spain, in 1780, says that a tradition was preserved to his day that the ore from the famous iron mine of Mondragon, which is about a league distant from the town

(¹) Bishop Percy's Fol. MS., edit. Trübner, 1867.—"The dealers in miscellaneous articles were also called *milliners*, from their importing Milan goods for sale, such as brooches, aiglets, spurs, glasses, &c." (Saunders's *Chaucer*, p. 241.)

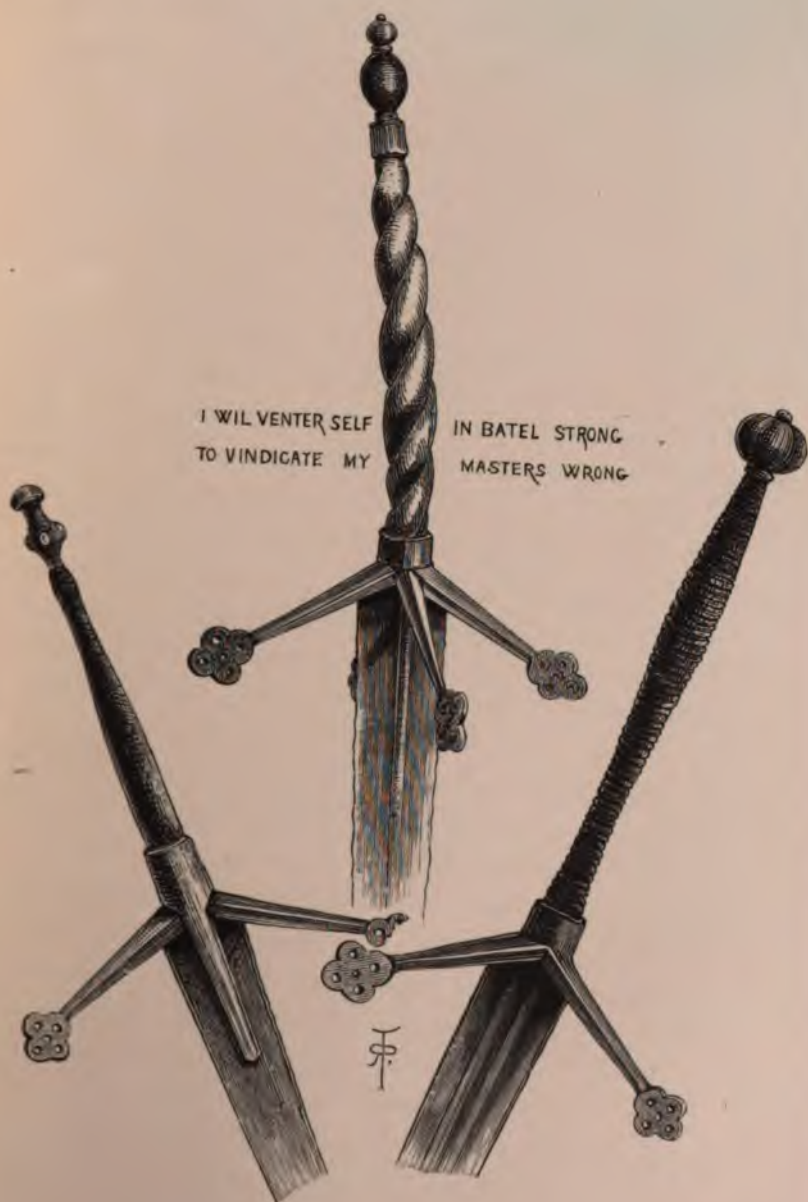
of that name, in Guipuscoa, was used for those famous swords which Katharine of Arragon presented to her consort, Henry VIII., and that the famous Toledo blades, those also of Zaragoza, were supposed to have been made of the same ore. The latter blades had three distinct marks, viz.: *El Perillo*, a little dog; *El Morillo*, a Moor's head; and *La Lobe*, a wolf.⁽¹⁾ It is difficult to account for the prevalence of what are termed Andrea Ferraras in Scotland, that country and Spain having had no especial intercourse. No payments to any great swordsmith have been noticed in the records of Scotland. The excellent blades of the Scots soldiers are mentioned by W. Patten in his journal, printed in 1548: "They come to the field with swords all broad and thin, of exceeding good temper, and universally so made to slice, that as I never saw none so good, so I think it hard to devise them better."⁽²⁾ The Claymore, or Big Sword of Scotland, is considered to be more properly represented by the specimen on Plate VIII., than by the basket-hilt and shorter blades generally known by that name. Several of the above are in Warwick Castle.

Since the above was written, a paper has appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine*, No. 68, p. 193 (August, 1865), the writer of which shows that Andrea Ferrara was an Italian, on the authority of a passage which occurs at fol. 62 of Giovan Matteo Cicogna's *Trattato*

(1) *Travels in Spain*, Lett. xvii.

(2) "The expedition into Scotlande of the Most Worthily Fortunate Prince Edward, Duke of Somerset, &c., set out by way of Diarie by W. Patten, London." (Reprinted in *Fragments of Scottish History*, 1798.)

No. 8.



I WIL VENTER SELF
TO VINDICATE MY

IN BATEL STRONG
MASTERS WRONG

Claymores. (Warwick Castle.)

No. 9



Sword worn by Musqueteers. *Temp.* Charles I., in the early part of his reign.
(In the possession of Mr. R. T. Pritchett, F.S.A.)

Militare (4to, Venice, 1583), where the author (in treating of the most renowned sword-makers of Italy in the sixteenth century) says: "In Ciudad di Bellun sono gli ingegnosi Maestro Giouan Donato et Maestro *Andrea de i Ferari*, ambidue fratelli, i quai stanno alle fusine di Messer Giouan Battista detto il Barcelone." That is to say, "In the town of Belluno are the ingenious Masters Giovan Donato and Andrea of the Feraris, both brothers, of the foundry of Master Giovan Battista, called 'The Barcelonian.'"

The result at which the writer of the article in question arrives is, that Andrea Ferrara was born about the year 1555; that he was of a family of armourers which had existed in Italy at least two generations before that time; and of whom the first, like Giovanni de Bologna, Leonardo da Vinci, Paolo Veronese, and a crowd of mediæval artists, derived his nomination from the place of his nativity, the ducal city of Ferrara.

The custom of inscriptions on sword-blades is ancient. Nearly all those known by the name of "Toledanos" bear the well-known sentiment, "*No me sacas sin razon, no me invainas sin onor.*" The proud inscription on the sword of Roger Guiscard, of Sicily, who conquered Malta and Tripoli, is highly significant of the exploits and the power of the Northmen in the Mediterranean:—

"Appulus et Calaber, Siculus mihi servit et Afer." (1)

The making the sword speak in the first person approximates to conferring on it a sort of personal exist-

(1) See Raumer's *Hohenstaufen*, b. i., s. 473.

ence. The same effect is produced by the motto on the sword of Fernan Gonzalez and Gareí Perez de Vargas, still preserved at Seville, which begins, "*De Fernan Gonzalez fué, de quien recibí el valor,*" &c. Many other examples of inscribed swords might be cited. Some good specimens are to be seen in the Tower Armoury; several German blades in the Goodrich Court Armoury, represented in Skelton's *Illustrations*; the sword of François I. at Paris, on which is written, "*Fecit potentiam in brachio suo;*" and the precious relic of Bayard, of which Sir John Boileau is the possessor, engraved with devices and mottoes. A curiously inscribed sword of the fourteenth century was found in 1826 in the bed of the river Witham, about seven miles below Lincoln. The characters, and the ornaments on the blade, are of yellow metal, supposed to be gold, inlaid and hammered into the steel. The interpretation of the inscription must be left to the ingenious in Middle-Aged enigmas. Commencing from the hilt, the letters appear to run thus:—the M, the G following it, and the A are inverted. + NDXOXGHMDNGHDXORAI +. The entire length of this remarkable weapon is 3 feet 2 inches, the length of the blade is 2 feet 8 inches; the blade is of more than ordinary width, the broadest part measuring nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.⁽¹⁾

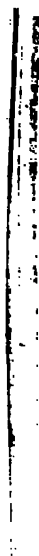
PLATE IX.—Sword worn by Musqueteers. *Temp.* Charles I.; early part of his reign. Dutch musquets and swords were largely imported into England. In

(¹) See Mr. Albert Way's remarks in the *Archæol. Journal*, xiv. 97. —Also *Gent. Mag.*, vol. xvi., part ii., p. 300.

No. 9



Sword worn by Musqueteers. *Temp.* Charles I., in the early part of his reign.
(In the possession of Mr. R. T. Pritchett, F.S.A.)





The Carriage, or Frog, for a Rapier. Temp. Elizabeth. This most valuable relic is in the collection of the Hon. Robert Curzon, at Parham, Sussex.

the Ordnance papers accounts are constantly occurring for cleaning Dutch swords and Dutch musquets. This is a good specimen of the class. In the possession of Mr. Robert Taylor Pritchett, F.S.A.

In the seventeenth century, Leigeber, of Nuremberg, seems to have been noted for his *specialité* in sword-handles.

A.D. 1618. Thomas Murraye obtained letters patent, for twenty-one years, for "A newe invention for the sole making of sword-blades, faulchions, skeynes, and rapier blades, rendering to His Ma^{tie} v^{ll}. rent yearlie." Authority was given to the patentee and his agents, with a constable, to enter and search places when they had cause to suspect that the invention was counterfeited. (*Abridgments of Specifications relating to Fire-Arms, &c.*)

Grose states that swords (continued to be worn by the infantry of all other armies) were discontinued in the British service by the battalion companies in 1745, and by the grenadiers in about 1762. (*Mil. Ant.*, ii. 93.)

PLATE X.—The carriage or frog for a rapier, *temp.* Elizabeth. A valuable relic preserved at Parham, Sussex, in the collection of the Hon. Robert Curzon. The groundwork is yellow satin, ornamented with needlework of great beauty. This form of sword-belt is constantly seen in portraits at the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century. This specimen, if not unique, is the finest known.

A DAGGER, under the name of *coustille* (*cultellus*) or *misericorde*, has been the constant companion of the The Dagger.

sword—at least from the middle of the fourteenth century; as Hudibras has it—

“This sword, a dagger had, his page,
That was but little for his age.”—Pt. i., c. i.

On knightly monuments it is found worn on the opposite side to the sword:—

“—by his side a sword and a bokeler,
And on that other side a gaie daggere,
Harneised wel, and sharpe as point of spere.”

An early mention of the dagger occurs in a statute of William I. of Scotland (1165-1214): “Habeat equum, habergeon, capitium e ferro, et cultellum qui dicitur *dagger*” (cap. 23). A curious mention of daggers worn in pouches across the stomach occurs in the chronicle of William Thorn, as early as the year 1248: “Ex transverso ventris sub umbilico habentes cultellos, quos *daggerios* vulgariter vocant, in *powchiis* desuper impositis.”⁽¹⁾

This weapon is called MISERICORDE in a charter of Philip Augustus in 1194. “Quicumque cultellum cum cuspidē, vel *curtam spatulam, vel misericordiam, vel cujusmodi arma multritoria*,”⁽²⁾ also in the statute of Winchester (1285). The designation of *misericorde* was bestowed, according to Fauchet, the French antiquary, either from its being used to put persons out of their misery who were irrecoverably wounded, or from the sight of it causing the fallen to cry out for quarter or mercy. (*Orig. Mil. Franç.*, l. ii.)

⁽¹⁾ Minshew derives the word from the Hebrew *dakar*, to pierce or stab.

⁽²⁾ *i.e.*, “Short sword, or *misericorde*, or any other murderous weapons.”

"the combatants shall each of them be armed with a pointless sword, having the edges rebolted (bent or turned on one side), and with a *baston* hanging from their saddles, and they may use either the one or the other," each being comparatively rendered harmless.

Chaucer arms each of his knights in the tournament with a mace of steel:—

"Sorn wol been armed on here legges weel,
And have an ax and ech a mace of steel."

In the romance of *Richard Cœur de Lion* they are described of brass:—

"Hastely, without words mo,
Hys mase he toke in hys hande tho,
That was made of *joten bras*."

The mace is a weapon of remote antiquity, discoverable among the monuments of the ancient Assyrians and Egyptians, and being a formidable arm in the hands of a powerful man, continued in favour for a protracted period. It is seen in the Bayeux tapestry wielded both by Anglo-Saxons and Normans; and a military writer of the sixteenth century says: "It was not out of use long after the invention of hand-guns, for we read of it used by most nations an hundred years ago, and certainly in a medley they may be more serviceable than swords, for when they are guided by a strong arm, we find the party struck with them was either felled from his horse, or having his head-piece beat close to his head, was made reel in his saddle, with blood running plentifully out of his nose."(¹)

(¹) *Pallas Armata*, p. 171.

The mace, five hundred years ago, was—like its modern miniature, the mis-called *life-preserver*—the terror of the good people of London; so that proclamations were issued to endeavour to put down the evil. A curious instance of this occurs in an instrument (printed by Rymer), of the first year of Edward III., 1327, against the assembling of persons with swords, maces, and other arms (*cum gladiis, MASUELLIS, et aliis armis*). The mace was also the characteristic emblem of office of serjeants-at-arms.

Illustrations of the mace will be found in Roy. MSS. 20., D. i., ff. 12 and 69. Daniel (*Mil. Fran.*) gives representations of two maces of Roland and Oliver⁽¹⁾ which were preserved in the Abbey of Roncevaux. These weapons consisted of a stout staff $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, with a heavy ball of iron attached to it by a chain. They were reported to have been wielded at that great fight—

“When Roland brave and Olivier,
And every paladin and peer,
At Roncevalles died!”⁽²⁾—*Marmion*.

The AXE does not appear as a knightly weapon The Axe. until the twelfth century. The double-axe was also in vogue in this century. The Anglo-Saxons, as we

(1) Charles I. (A.D. 800), Emperor of the West, “had in his time a mighty falawchip (company), of which Rowland and Oliver were captaynes.” (Capgrave, *Chron. of England*, p. 105. New edit.)

(2) “Taillefer ki mult bien cantoit
Sur un cheval ki tost aloit
Devant eus s'en aloit cantant
De Karlemaine et de Rollant
Et d'Oliver et des vassals
Ki moururent en Renchevals.”

Roman de Rou, l. 13,150.

have already seen, made vigorous use of this at the battle of Hastings, but in the Bayeux tapestry they are not seen in the hands of the Normans. The axe appears to have been the peculiar weapon of the Northern nations. "A Danish axe" occurs in the ancient ballad of *King Arthur and the King of Cornwall* (l. 169, p. 68, Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript). In Wace we find:—

"Hache noresche out mult bele" (v. 13,391);

and Ordericus Vitalis speaks of "*Norica securis*" (lib. xiii.). A good representation of the bipennis, or double-axe, will be found in the Harl. MSS., No. 603.

The Shield.

The knight carried a shield on his arm when prepared for attack, but on a march, unless borne by his esquire (*scutifer*), it was usually slung round his neck by a strap called by the Italians *guiggia*, and by the French *guiche* or *guige*. Thus the *Roman de Garis*:—

"Escu ot d'or, á un lioncel bis,

Parmi la guige à son col le pendi."

(His shield has on a field of gold a brown lioncel,

By the guige he suspended it from his neck.)

The shields of the French knights of the eleventh century are minutely described by the Princess Anna Comnena: "For defence they bear an impenetrable shield, not of a round, but of an oblong shape, broad at the upper part, and terminating in a point. The surface is not flat, but convex, so as to embrace the person of the wearer; and the exterior face is of metal, so highly polished by frequent rubbing, with an

umbo of shining brass in the middle, as to dazzle the eyes of all beholders.”⁽¹⁾ The Normans introduced the kite-shaped shield into this country; they are clearly depicted in the Bayeux tapestry. The great seal of King Stephen has the umbo or boss in the centre. About the middle of the twelfth century a modification appears in the form of the shield—the top becomes straight instead of bowed. The shield of Richard I. is a specimen of the triangular form.

Armorial bearings on the faces of shields were generally adopted about the fourteenth century. Figures of some sort, as distinctive badges, had been painted on shields at an earlier period, but these were of a fanciful and promiscuous character. The shield of Richard I. had three lions emblazoned upon it. Guillaume le Breton, writing of the Cœur de Lion, says—

“ Ecce comes pictavus agro nos provocat, ecce
Nos ad bella vocat rictus agnosco *leonum*
In clypeo.”

The lions have retained their place on the royal escutcheon to the present day. The material of which shields were made was wood covered over with leather. Of such is the shield of the Black Prince, which hangs over his monument at Canterbury, with fleurs-de-lis and lions displayed upon it. The straps, or holders, through which the hand and arm passed through, were termed *enarmes*. Instances of *guiges* and *enarmes* are plainly seen in the *Roman du Roy Meliadus*, a valuable illuminated MS. of the four-

⁽¹⁾ *Alexiad*, lib. xiii., p. 314.

teenth century (Add. MS. 12,228, fol. 186). The shield of Henry V., suspended in Westminster Abbey, is remarkable from the position of the enarmes, which, instead of being placed one above the other, are in the same horizontal line. A smaller shield succeeded the triangular, and a heart-shaped one was much in vogue in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as may be seen in the MS. just cited, at folio 260 and elsewhere.

On board ship, the knights' shields were utilised by being arranged along the sides of the vessel so as to form a kind of bulwark, examples of which may be seen in the Bayeux tapestry; also in the magnificently illuminated Froissart of Philip de Comines. (*Harl. MS.* 4,379-80).

The loss of the shield was considered a degradation. At the close of the fourteenth century, a knight in this position could not sit at table with other knights until he had by some honourable exploit or feat of arms obliterated that disgrace; if he should venture to place himself among them before this was achieved, it was the duty of the herald to tear his mantle; at least so Du Cange gives an instance of what happened to a foreign knight in the year 1395.⁽¹⁾

When knights fell in action, the long shields were made use of to convey their bodies from the field; and if the shields were as long as that of Geoffrey Plan-

(1) "Heraldum vocant, lacerasse mantile, objicientem indignum fore, quod aliquis interesset mensæ Regiæ, carens insignis armorum." (Du Cange, v. *Arma amittere*.)

tagenet (Henry II.'s father), which extended from his shoulder to his ankle, they would have been admirably adapted for the purpose.⁽¹⁾ The Black Prince ordered that the body of Robert de Duras, nephew of the Cardinal de Perigord, who fell at Poitiers, should be borne away on a shield;⁽²⁾ or sometimes shorter shields were placed together. Thus the gallant Chandos was laid on targe and pavass⁽³⁾, and carried gently away for interment.

(¹) Now in the Museum of Le Mans. Originally it ornamented the tomb of Geoffrey, in the Cathedral of Le Mans.

(²) Froissart, i. 348.

(³) "Couché sur targe et sur pavais." (*Ibid.*, i. 602, *anno* 1370.)

CHAPTER VII.

BODY ARMOUR—HELMETS—HAUBERKS—GAMBESONS—SURCOATS—SPURS—
PLATE-ARMOUR—KNIGHTLY TOILETTE—WEIGHT OF ARMOUR—COM-
PARISON OF ANCIENT AND MODERN CAVALRY—DURATION OF LIFE IN
THE MIDDLE AGES.

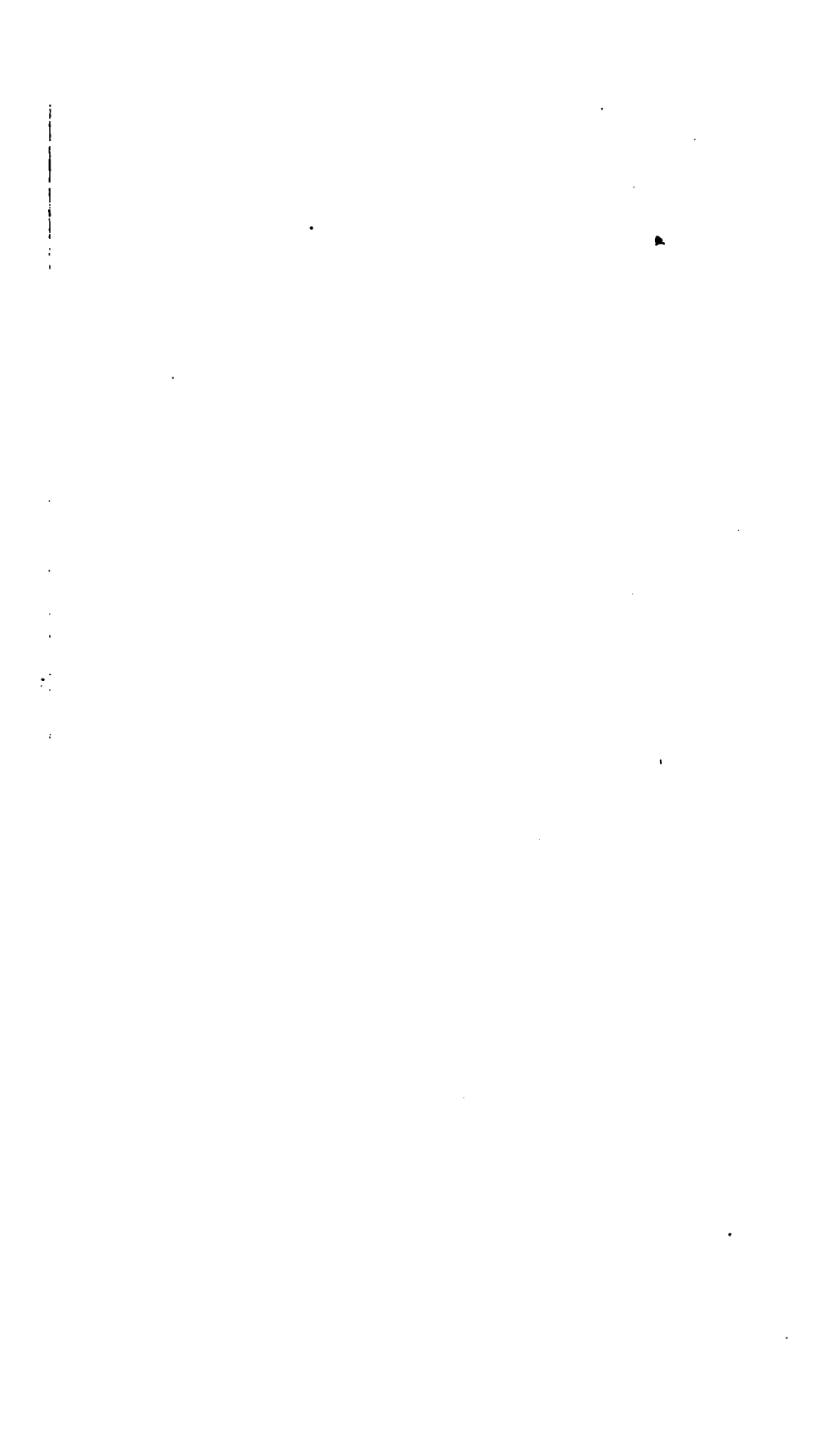
Body-armour.

THE chief items of knightly body-armour consisted of (in the chain-armour period) a helmet or heaume, hauberk, gambeson, and plastron. The head-pieces worn at the time of the Conquest were generally of the simplest form: a conical iron cap, with a nasal or face-guard, which was a narrow peak, descending from the forehead along the nose, to protect the upper part of the face from a transverse cut or blow. This form is universal in the Bayeux tapestry. A remarkably graceful form of a nasal helmet is copied on Plate XII., from the original in the Parham Collection. The date assigned to it is about A.D. 1000. As an additional protection, knights subsequently wore under the helm a closely-fitting cap of steel rings. This hood of mail (*capelline de maille*, or corruptly, *camail*) fell over the ears, and descended to the shoulders. An ivory carving, engraved in *Archæologia*, xvi. 346, exhibits the knight in the act of raising his helm from his head, covered with the camail. This was afterwards superseded by the

No. 12.



Nasal Helmet. Date *circa* A. D. 1100. (Parham Collect.)



No. 13.



Early English Helmet, with Nasal. Date *cir.* A.D. 1000. (Parham Collect.)

No. 14.



Cylindrical Flat-topped Helmet, with Nasal. Probably Thirteenth Century.
Dug up at Montgomery Castle, 1841.

No. 15.



Helmet (from Castle Pomeroy), identical with the one represented in the effigy of Sir Geoffrey de Mandeville in the Temple Church. Date 1100. (Parham Collection.)

gorget, or hausse-col of steel, when plate-armour came in vogue in the fourteenth century.

A specimen of another helmet in the same collection is given in Plate XIII., showing an improvement on the plain cone. The holes round the edge were used to affix the lining. There is a socket at the back; unless it was for a chain to attach it to the body-armour, it is difficult to surmise its use, feathers not being worn at that period. The little crook discernible on the point of the nasal, was to fasten the throat part of the chain hood, so as to bring it up as a protection for the lower part of the face. Date about A.D. 1100.

In this century a movement took place in the shape of head-pieces, and the cumbrous cylindrical flat-topped helmet appears. The specimen represented on Plate XIV. is, however, of later date, probably the thirteenth century. It was dug up at Montgomery Castle, and is in the Tower collection, $\frac{4}{2}$. Next to this in point of date, is the helm with a grating or ventail opening on a hinge, by which a better supply of air was admitted. There is a good specimen of one of these in the Tower collection, of the early part of the thirteenth century, the visor moving upon hinges at the side. It is engraved in the *Archæol. Journ.*, viii. 420. On Plate XV. is figured one of these flat-topped helms; it is identical with the one represented on the effigy of Sir Geoffrey de Mandeville, Constable of the Tower in 1150, in the Temple Church. The chin-piece is very remarkable, and was used with padding inside, as shown on the monument; the hinge for the

visor is worth noting. This helmet was dug up in the castle of Pomeroy, Devon. (Parham Coll.) The word *helm*, among the Northern nations, meant a covering of any kind: the war-helm of the Anglo-Saxons was the little cap worn by the soldiers; but from the end of the twelfth century, the "helm" or "heaume" was restricted to denote the great close casque of the knight, and "helmet" was accepted as its diminutive.⁽¹⁾

At the end of the thirteenth century, round tops superseded the flat, not however to their exclusion; the *chapelle de fer* (*capelet ferri*), with its round crown and flat rim, was worn; but the bassinet (perhaps from its resemblance to a basin) was *the* war head-piece of the period, worn with or without a visor; and attached to it, or worn underneath, was the curtain of chain to protect the neck. (See the visored bassinet from Warwick Castle, on Plate XVI. It is almost globose, with camaille attached. The ring of the chain-mail is drawn the full size. Date *circa* 1360.) Heads of animals, horns, and other objects, giving a grotesque appearance, surmounted the helmets in the fourteenth century, or at the close of the thirteenth. Examples of these are, however, rare, on account of the perishable nature of the materials of which they were composed, generally wood and leather. They were subsequently superseded by plumes of feathers. These latter, however, were not common before the fifteenth century.

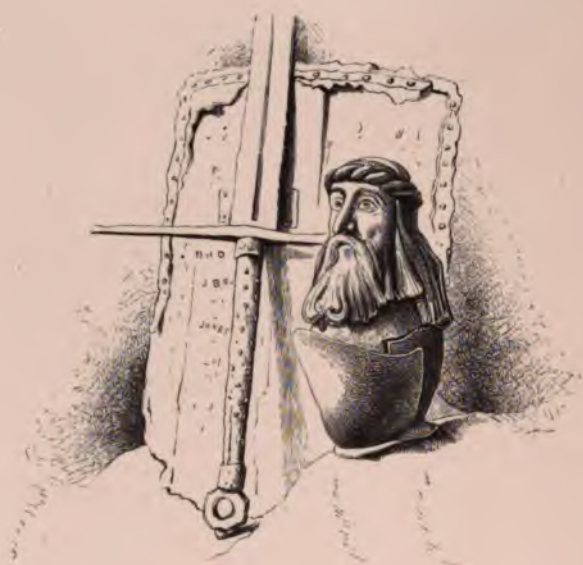
PLATE XVII.—The helmet is from Cobham Church, Kent. The shield and sword are those of

(1) *Ancient Armour*, i. 279.

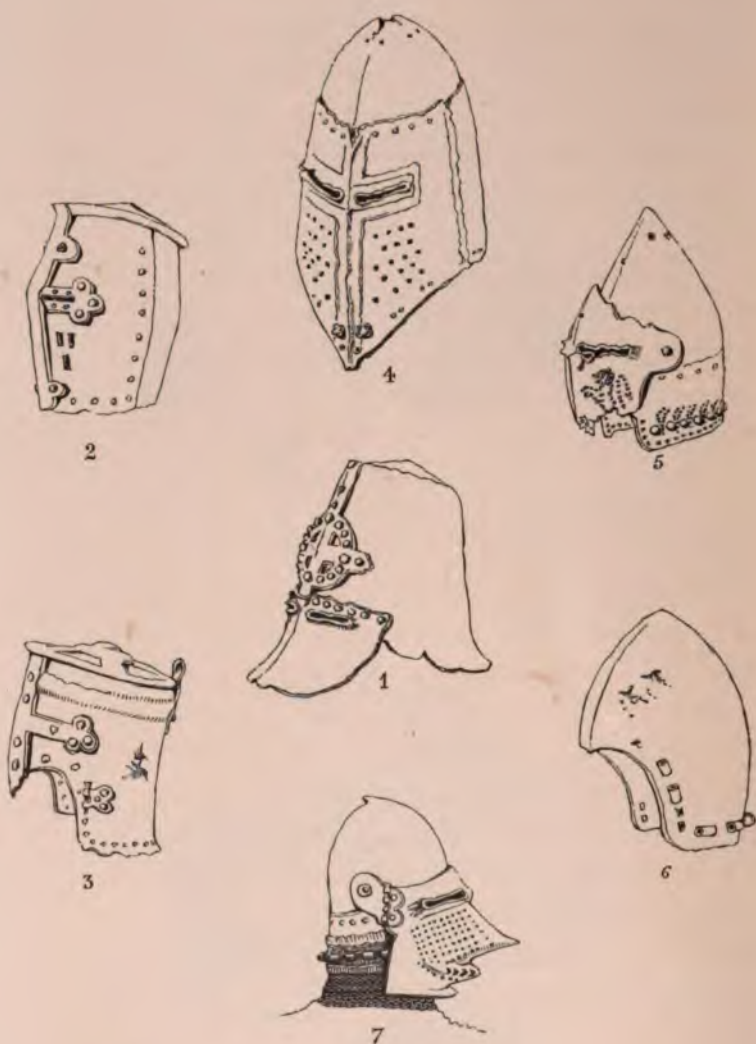
No. 16.



Visored Bassinet, almost globose, with Camaille attached ; the Ring is drawn the full size. Date *cir.* 1360. (Warwick Castle.)



1. Shield and Sword of Edward III. (Westminster Abbey.)
2. Saddle, Helmet, and Shield of Henry V. (Westminster Abbey)



1. Helmet found at Lochmaben Castle.
2. War Helm. A.D. 1150
3. War Helm of the Thirteenth Century.
4. War Helm of Sir William de Staunton.
5. Bassinet of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke. 1310.
6. Plain Bassinet. A.D. 1330.
7. Visored Bassinet, with Camaille attached. 1370.

Edward III. The sword is seven feet long, and weighs eighteen pounds. The other group is the saddle, helmet, and shield of Henry V., both in Westminster Abbey.

PLATE XVIII.—A collection of remarkable helms. If not of English make, all worn and still preserved here.

No. 1 was disinterred at Lochmaben Castle, in Dumfriesshire. The form is most peculiar. The ocularium is a remarkable feature.

No. 2. A war-helm, date A.D. 1150.

No. 3. A war-helm of the thirteenth century.

No. 4. The war-helm of Sir William de Staunton; height, eighteen inches. See his tomb in Staunton Church, Notts.

No. 5. The bassinet of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, 1310.

No. 6. A plain bassinet. Date 1330.

No. 7. A good and rare specimen of the visored bassinet, with camaille attached. Date 1370.

The seven illustrations on this plate are copied from originals in the Parham collection.

Helmets with beavers and visors (from the Italian, *bevere* and *vedere*) do not appear until about the plate-armour period—the middle of the fourteenth century. Movable ventails, or which were adapted to the bassinets, were of much earlier date. At the siege of Carlaverock, in 1300, we read of knights "*prestes a lascier les ventailles*,"⁽¹⁾ which means that they were ready to let down or lower their ven-

(¹) Nicolas' edit., p. 20.

No. 20.



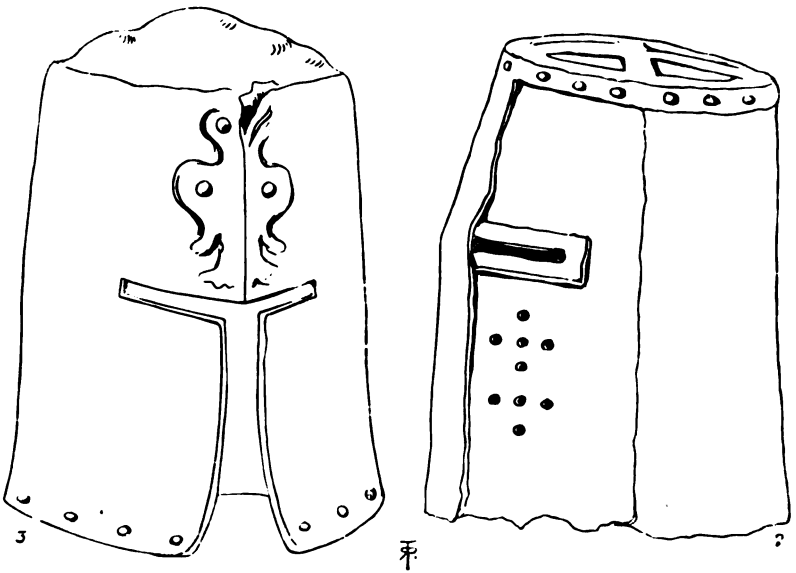
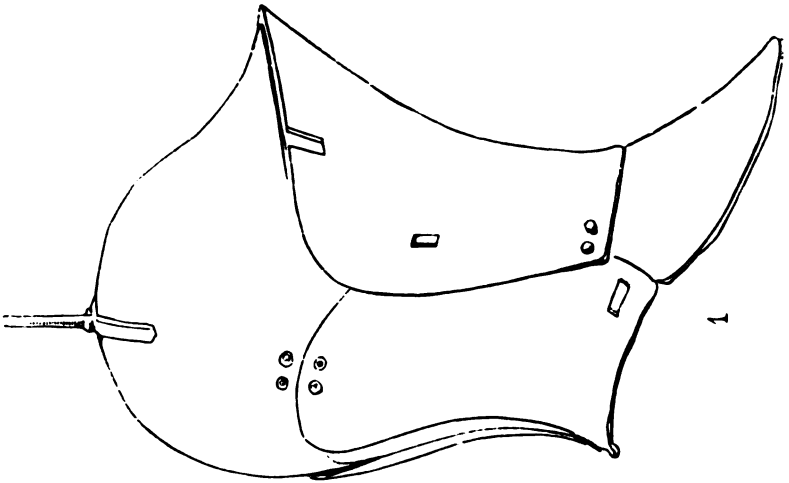
Helmet similar to that of the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral ; but differing, as having the Piècz de Renfort on the left side. Date A.D. 1350. (Parham Collection,)



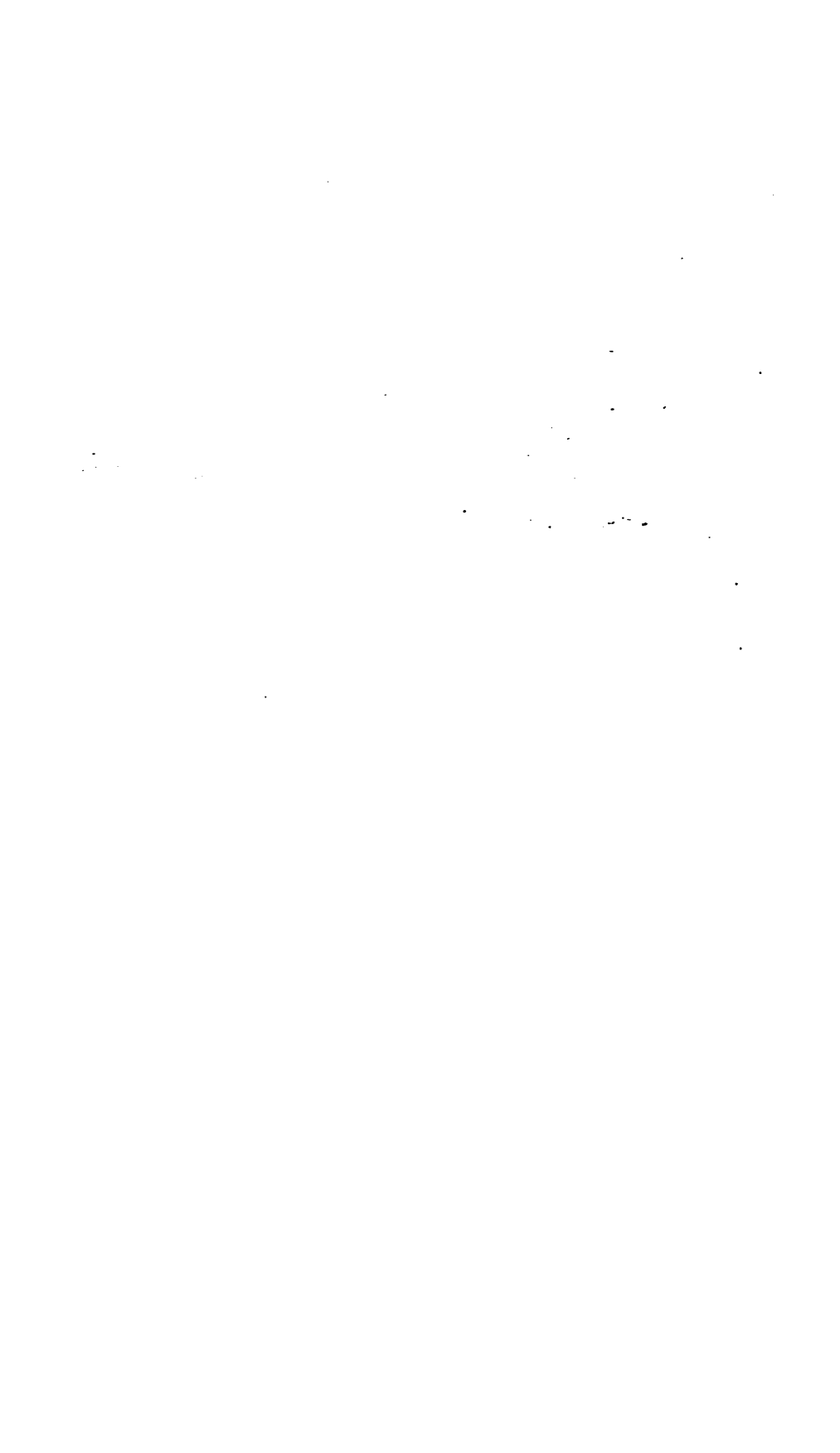
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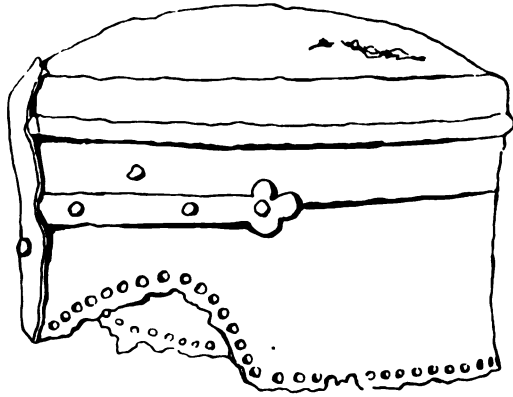


Helmet similar to that of the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral ; but differing, as having the Pièce de Renfort on the left side. Date A.D. 1350. (Parham Collection.)

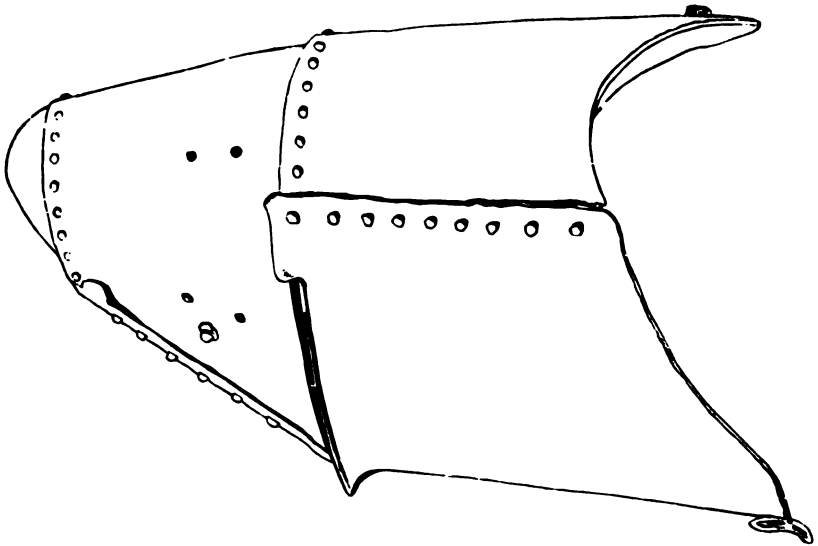


1. Helmet of Robert Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.
2. Helmet dug up in Eynsford Castle, Kent, *temp.* Richard I.
3. Cylindrical Helmet, with the *Fleur-de-Lis* of the Thirteenth Century.





1



2

1. Helmet of Sir Thomas de Braunstone, of Wisbeach, Cambridgeshire.
A.D. 1401. (Parham Collection.)
2. Helmet, from over Little John's Tomb, in Church of Hathersage. (Parham
Collection.)

iiij Baleis, pris cxxxiiij *li* vj *s* viij *d*—iiij Saph', pris le Saph' x *li*, xl *li*—iiij^{xx} gros Perles, pris le pec' lx *s*, ccxl *li*—cxxxviiij Perles, pris le pec' x *s*, lxiiij *li*—iiij Baleis, pris le pec' xiiij *li* vj *s* viij *d*, lxiiij *li* vj *s* viij *d*—xvj Saph', pris le pec' iiij *li*, lxiiij *li*—et l'or pois' vj *lb* di unc', pris le *lb*' xiiij *li*, iiij^{xx} iiij *li* xj *s* viij *d*—en tout vj clxxix *li*. v *s*."

It appears, however, very improbable that the king would have put in jeopardy a crown of such immense value in the battle-field, especially as his necessities had compelled him to pledge his jewels. The Duke of Kent held one of the crowns in pawn, and his brother, the Earl of Cambridge, held another.

PLATE XXI.—No. 1. Helmet of Robert Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. Warwick Castle.

No. 2. Helmet of the time of Richard I. Dug up in Eynsford Castle, Kent.

No. 3. Cylindrical Helmet, with the *fleur-de-lis* of the thirteenth century, formerly preserved in the Church of Chalgrave, Bedfordshire. Both at Parham.

PLATE XXII.—Helmet of Sir Thomas de Braunstone, of Wisbeach, Cambridgeshire, A.D. 1401. Height, 19 in.; weight, 12 lb. 12 oz.

Helmet from over Little John's tomb; *temp.* King John. It was suspended until 1784 in the parish church of Hathersage, near Derby, together with his yew bow, 6 ft. 7 in. long. Robin Hood died in 1247. Both of these are now in the Parham Collection.

Towards the close of the fourteenth century, a new

kind of head-defence appears, the Salade. Chaucer mentions it:—

“Ne horse, ne male, trusse, ne baggage,
Salade, ne spere, gard-brace, ne page.”—*Dreme*, l. 1,555.

It was usually worn with a chin-piece (*mentonnière*), as described in the old interlude *Thersytes* (*circa* 1550):—

“I wolde have a *sallet* to wear on my head,
Which under my chin, with a thong red,
Buckled shall be.”

There were several varieties of the Salade or Sallet. It was a light helm, offering more protection than the bassinet, and capable of considerable ornamentation. The simplest form was little more than a skull-cap, with an extension over the neck. This was the common head-piece of archers, billmen, and others.

On Plate XXIII. is represented a Salade of great beauty. It is ornamented with copper gilt mounting over crimson velvet. Date 1450. (Parham Collection.)

The Hauberk.

The Hauberk was the principal body defence. It was a close-fitting garment of chain-mail, covering the body, arms and thighs, and often the head in one piece, and reached to the knees, with openings or slits sometimes in front, sometimes at the side. Many illustrations of it will be found in the Bayeux tapestry. The continuous coif, or hood, often occurs there. Alexander I., King of Scotland A.D. 1107-24, is represented on his seal on horseback with a continuous coif, apparently of chain-mail, worn over a tunic or gambeson, seen at the wrist and elbows, also on the great seals of Stephen and Henry II. of England. In

No. 23.



Salade. Date A. D. 1450. (Parham Collection.)

No. 24.



Chain-mail Hood, the Rings full size. Date *circa* A.D. 1120. (Parham Collection.)

a Harl. MS., No. 2,895, fol. 82, there is a figure of a warrior, represented, according to mediæval custom, in contemporary costume, but who is no less a person than Goliath of Gath, apparelled in a hooded hauberk, with sleeves down to the elbow, over a green tunic. The legs are tinted blue, and appear to be unprotected, except for the green boots, which reach half-way up to the knee. He wears an iron helmet with a nasal, to which the hood is fastened, as described before in Plate XIII. The large-bowed, kite-shaped shield is red, and is hung from the neck by a chain.

The mail hood was sometimes worn separately. A specimen of one of great rarity is preserved in the Parham Collection. It retains the original leather lining. Date *cir.* 1120. (See Plate XXIV.) The drawing gives the actual size of the rings.

In a MS. Life of Christ, prefixed to a Latin and Franco-Norman version of the Psalms in the Cotton. Lib., *Nero*, c. iv., fol. 13, date about the first quarter of the twelfth century, a soldier (Murder of the Innocents) is represented, habited in a hauberk with lateral openings at the skirt. A remarkable feature in this drawing is the manner in which the sword is worn. It appears on the right side, underneath the hauberk, which partially conceals it, the mouth of the scabbard being drawn through a slit on the hip. ⁽¹⁾

Meyrick states that "there does not appear anything like a sword-belt during the time of the first Williams, and if such were used, it is entirely concealed by the hauberk." (i. 22). This statement, however,

⁽¹⁾ Meyrick, i. 22.—Hewitt, i. 130.

is inaccurate. Amongst other instances, sword-belts are clearly discernible in the Bayeux tapestry. See also Cott., *Calig.*, a. 7, fol. 3.—Planché, p. 42, *temp.* Rufus.—Strutt's *Horda*, v. i., pl. 26.—Hefner, pl. 33, pt. 1 (eleventh century).—*Ibid.*, pl. 65.

The difference between the hauberk and habergeon is not strictly defined; possibly the distinction referred only to size. Wace describes Duke William preparing for the battle of Hastings:—

“Sun boen haubert fist demander;”

whilst his brother Odo, the bishop:—

“Un haubergeon aveit vestu
De sor une chemise blanche;
Lé fat li cors, juste la manche.”

Roman de Rou., v. 13,254.

In an inventory of articles delivered out of the Tower, dated 33 Henry VI. (1454), are enumerated “habergeons of Meleyn,” probably Milanese. (*Archæol.*, xvi. 125.)

To the hauberks were added, in the twelfth century, chausses (pantaloon) of the same material. To these, protections of plate were subsequently super-added. Poleyns for the elbows, and genouillers for the knees, appear during the latter half of the thirteenth century.

The
Gambeson.

Under the hauberk was worn a loose quilted frock, called a *gambeson*, or *vambaison*, from the German *wammē*, *venter*. (Adelung, *v. Gambeso*.) It was made of leather or cloth, or of some other tough material, and stuffed with any sort of soft substance, as wool, or tow, or cotton. Something padded was requisite to

be worn underneath, to make the mail bearable, and to deaden the effect of blows, which, though they might not divide the mail, might, without the interposition of the gambeson, severely bruise the body. As an additional precaution, they wore over the breast, under or between the hauberk and gambeson, a breastplate of wrought-iron or steel, called a *plastron*.⁽¹⁾ We may gather that the gambeson was worn alone sometimes, or as an outer garment, and decorated, as appears from a passage in the poem of the siege of Carlaverock:—

“Meinte heaume et meint chapeau burni,
Meint riche gamboison guarni
De soie et cadas et coton
En leur venue veist on.”—p. 72.

The aketon appears to have been another name The Aketon. for the gambeson.⁽²⁾ Chaucer mentions it in his rhyme of Sir Thopas:—

“And next his shert an haketon,
And over that an habergeon
For percing of his hert,
And over that a fine hauberk.”

Skene gives a description of it, accurate enough, and curious for the dialect in which it is expressed. “Acton is ane forme of armour, quhilk coveris ane man’s bodie (except his head) downe to his knee, maid of Taffitie, Ledder, or Linning claith, stuffed with caddes, and sticked very thick with thread, or

⁽¹⁾ This term is retained in the French army. The white breast-facings of the Imperial Guard are so called.

⁽²⁾ “Aketon, Acton, *Sagum militare*, quod alias *Gambezonam* vocabant; ex Gallico *Hoqueton* aut *Hauqueton*; seu potius ex Cambrico-Britannico *Actvum*, lorica dupla, duplodes.” (Du Cange.)

silke of diverse coullors, and partial gilt, with spranges or streamers of gold fuilzie, and is commonlie used in times of battell under the habirgeon, to save ane man's bodie fra the schot of an arrowe, or fra the bruising of the straik of ane sword." (1)

One of the interesting relics which time has spared to us of the Black Prince, is his gamboised jupon, which remains suspended over his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral. It is of one pile crimson velvet, with short sleeves, somewhat like the tabard of a herald, but laced up the back; the foundation of it is buckram stuffed with cotton, and quilted in longitudinal ribs. (2)

The Surcoat.

The surcoat became, in the thirteenth century, a characteristic part of the knightly equipments. The great seal of John affords the first example of an English king wearing one. It was supposed to have originated with the Crusaders, in order to ward off the rays of the sun shining on the metal armour; (3) but Mr. Hewitt shows from a contemporary historian that its object was to preserve the armour from the wet:—

"To hold thayre armur clene
And were (*i.e.*, protect) hitte fro the wete."

The Awowyne of King Arthur, stanza 39.

Surcoats were at first worn without sleeves, and were of one uniform colour. When the fashion of heraldic bearings was introduced, and arms were emblazoned on the surcoats, they were useful in dis-

(1) *De Verborum Expositione*. Edinbro., 1641.

(2) See Stothard's *Effigies*.

(3) *Ancient Armour*, i. 271.

tinguishing persons, for, without the shield and with visor closed, one knight could not have been known from another. They varied in form and length at different periods; at one time worn loose, at another laced tight to the figure. When knights contended more constantly on foot, it was indispensable that the surcoat should be shortened. The neglect of this precaution was fatal in the case of Sir John Chandos, one of the brightest ornaments of that chivalrous circle which sparkled in the reign of Edward III. He fought in the foremost line at Cressy with the Black Prince, and at Poitiers he never left his side. He was appointed afterwards Seneschal of Poitou, and having come up with the French, who had been making inroads upon his government, he and the other men-at-arms with him, dismounted in order to attack them. He wore "his coat of armes of white sarcenet with two piles gules, one before and another behind."⁽¹⁾ That morning there had been a little dew,⁽²⁾ which made the ground slippery; the knight's foot slipped, and in trying to recover himself, it became entangled in the surcoat, during which moment a French esquire thrust at him with his lance, which struck him below the eye, and penetrated to the brain and killed him, for Chandos wore no visor on his bassinet.

Surcoats of arms became the usual and proper

⁽¹⁾ Froissart (Berners), cap. cclxx., p. 403.—Buchon, i. 601. "Un grand vêtement qui lui battoient jusques à terre."

⁽²⁾ "Or faisoit ce matin un petit reslet (rosée) si étoit la voie mouillée." (*Ibid.*, i. 601.)—One would have supposed frost more likely, as it was early on a January morning.

costume in the field of persons entitled to bear coat armour, and it appears to have been a point of honour to display them. Henry V. and his knights, when an attack from the French seemed imminent on the march to Agincourt, constantly wore their "cotes d'armes" in readiness for action.⁽¹⁾ Duke Anthony of Brabant, at Agincourt, finding that the engagement had commenced, would not wait to equip himself, but seizing a banner which was attached to a trumpet, converted it for the occasion into a surcoat of arms.⁽²⁾

Spurs. (the name has passed into all the Romanesque languages—in old French, *esperon*; in Spanish, *espolon*, or *espuela*; and in mediæval Latin, *spourones*;) although they can neither be considered as armour offensive nor defensive, formed an important item in the equipment of a knight. They were the insignia of his dignity at his investiture. By the 8th Henry V., cap. 3 (A.D. 1420), it is ordered that "none shall silver no metal but knights' spurs."

The earliest form of the knightly spur was one which had only a single point or goad, and which was called the pryck spur.⁽³⁾ Examples of this may

(1) Nicolas, *Agincourt*, p. 98.

(2) Monstrelet, Elmham, and Saint-Remy, quoted by Nicolas, p. 123.

(3) "Pryck signifies a goad or spur, as is elsewhere in Latin called *compunctum*." (Blount's *Anct. Tenures*, p. 17.) Hence to prick came to signify to ride. The Yeomen Prickers, the attendants on the royal hunt, are yeomen riders. So in Chaucer, Sir Thopas

"—— worth upon his steede gray,

* * * * *

He prikett through a fair forest

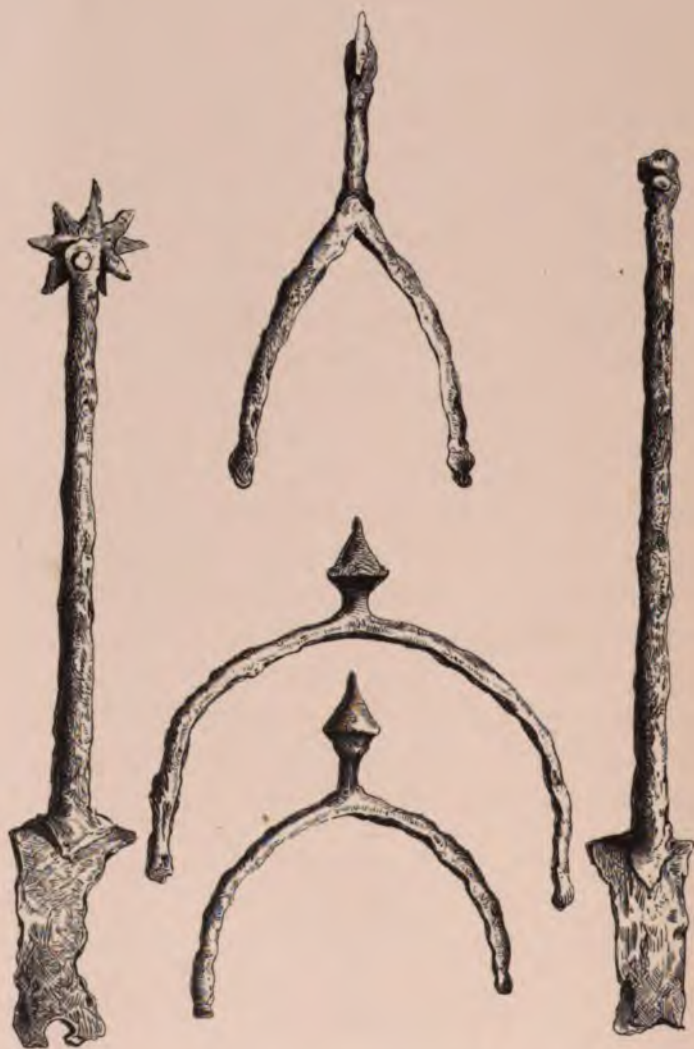
And as he priked north and east,"

And again:

"Into his sadel he clomb unoon,

And priked over stile and stoon."

No. 25.



SPURS FROM THE TOWER COLLECTION.

$\frac{5}{8}$ and $\frac{9}{16}$. Norman Pryck Spurs, of the short, straight-armed type.
 $\frac{1}{16}$. Long-necked Rowel Spurs. Date *circa* 1460.

be seen in the Bayeux tapestry; on the seal of Richard, constable of Chester, in the reign of Stephen (*Vetusta Mon.*, Soc. Ant.); and on an effigy in the Temple Church. This was succeeded by the rouelle or wheel spur, in the thirteenth century, being invented, according to Meyrick, in the reign of Henry III. The necks were often very long, and there are extant specimens of rowels nearly six inches in diameter. In the fourteenth century the necks were short and straight.

PLATE XXV.—Spurs from the Tower Collection. $\frac{6}{18}$ and $\frac{6}{99}$ Norman pryck spurs, of the short, straight-armed type. $\frac{6}{106}$ Long-necked rowel spurs. Date about 1460.

Froissart tells us of knights taking off their spurs, and having them buried in the ground, rowels upward, to serve as calthrops, so as to make the approach to them very unpleasant.⁽¹⁾ The same chronicler relates how that it was shewn to King Charles VI. of France, a chapel in the Church of Our Lady in Courtray, in which were suspended five hundred gilt spurs of knights, trophies of the great battle that was fought there in 1302. (Tom. ii., p. 254.)

When a knight was degraded, the spurs were struck off from his heels. The earliest account in our annals of the degradation of a knight is that of

Degradation.

(1) "Au pendant de la montagne où ils étoient, ils firent porter par leurs varlets la plus grand' partie de leurs éperons et enfouir en terre, les molettes par dessus, par quoi on ne les pût approcher, fors en péril et à mal aise." (i. 397.)

Sir Andrew Herklay, Earl of Carlisle, in the reign of Edward II., who had been convicted of high treason, and on whom the following sentence was passed: "Que vous soietz degrade; que vous perditz noun de Count, pur vous et pur vous heirs, a tous jours; que vous soietz deceynt del espée; que vous *espoireuns d'orrus soient coupez de talouns*." ⁽¹⁾ Selden also gives the judgment pronounced by the Earl of Worcester, High Constable of England under Edward IV., on Sir Ralph Grey, whose spurs were to be hacked off by the cook, who was in attendance with a chopper for the purpose. This additional humiliation seems to have been enforced because the culprit was a Knight of the Bath. "Sir Ralfe Grey, for thy treason the king hath ordained that thou shouldest have thy spurs stricken off by the hard heels, by the hand of the master-cook." ⁽²⁾

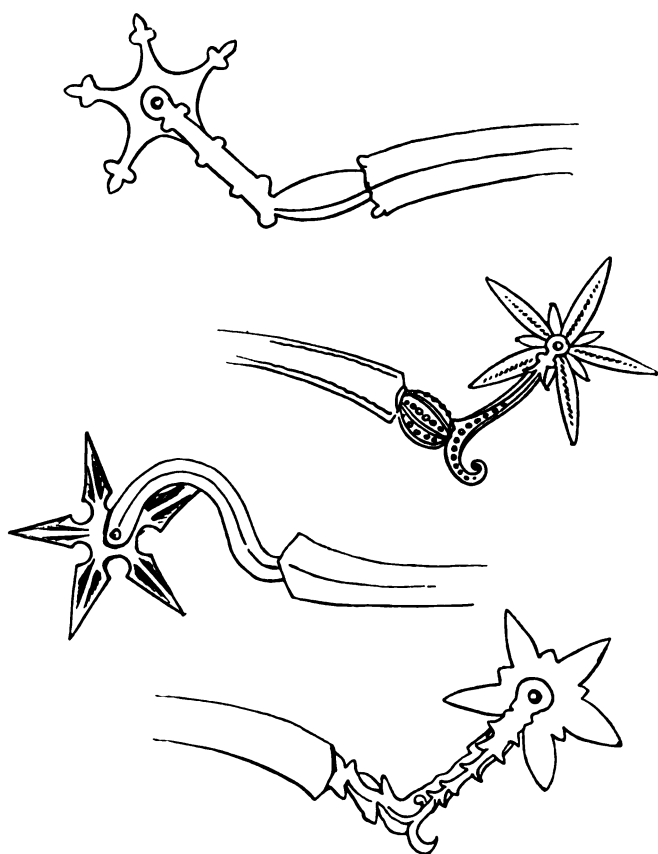
It was sometimes usual to decorate spurs with jewels, real or fictitious. These were generally used at tournaments. Spurs of gold are mentioned in the romance of *Richard Cœur de Lion*; and spurs garnished with diamonds are described as belonging to Henry Prince of Wales in 1615. ⁽³⁾ One of the most remarkable forms of spurs is the one with very long spiked rowels, in fashion during the reigns of Henry V. and VI. The effigy of Sir John de Brewys, in Wiston Church, Sussex, affords an instance of this, and the brass of Sir John Cherowin, at Brading,

⁽¹⁾ Placit. Hil. Term, 18 Edw. II.—Selden's *Titles of Honour*, p. 653.—Stow, 418.

⁽²⁾ Selden, 2nd p., ch. v., p. 789.

⁽³⁾ See also Du Cange, v. *Calcaria aurea*.

No. 26.



Various Spurs from the Warwick Collection. *Circa A.D. 1600.*

Isle of Wight, and the figure of Sir Robert Wingfield, represented on a painted window in East Herling Church, Norfolk, *circa* A.D. 1461 and 1480. These long-necked spurs were discontinued in the reign of Henry VII., and the thin-spiked rowel gave place to a close one like a star. (See on Plate XXVI. various spurs from the Warwick collection, *circa* 1600.) Ripon, in Yorkshire, appears to have been celebrated for its manufacture of spurs.⁽¹⁾

"Why, there's an angel, if my *spurs*
Be not right *Rippon*."

Ben Jonson's *Staple of Newes*, act i., sc. 2.

"Whip me with wire, headed with rowels of
Sharp *Rippon spurs*."

Davenant's *Wits*, 1666.

The fourteenth century may be regarded as a transition period in point of armour, for plate, which had been gradually creeping in piece by piece, towards the end of this century became in general use, superseding the chain-mail. Froissart, who was eminently the historian of the period, and other contemporary French writers, always speak of *armures de fer* as the distinctive term for the body-armour. The word *plate* was also used by the French to denote the species of armour, from its being composed of flat pieces of iron :

"Ces escus à leurs cos, ces hauberts endossez
Bonnes plates d'acier et de glaives assez." ⁽²⁾

Mail was not altogether discarded; skirts and gussets of chain at the arm-pits and hams were often continued as defences.

(1) Fairholt's *Hist. of Costume*, p. 587.

(2) *Chronique en Vers de Bertrand du Guesclin*, v. 5,925.

Specimens of plate and chain armour combined are most rare. Plate XXVII. represents a suit from the Parham Collection. The fastening of the plate over the chain on the legs is curious. Date 1250. A specimen is also to be seen at Stoke d'Aubernon Church, shown as the oldest known military brass in England.

The great cost of a suit of plate armour may have retarded its general introduction, which, coupled with its superiority as a means of defence, must have added for a time to the importance of the aristocracy in war. This was, however, of brief duration, for the excessive thickness of which it was afterwards constructed, entailed great disadvantages upon the wearer, and rendered him a very unwieldy machine in the battle-field. The value of infantry was, in the fourteenth century, rapidly rising in estimation, and knights, to keep pace with the increasing demands of the time, had more frequently to dismount and serve on foot; the heavy armour was then found to be a great impediment on the march. An instance is recorded in the chronicle of Saint-Denis, where a party of English knights, from sheer exhaustion, were obliged to throw away their armour, which they dropped into a river, in order that it might not be made available for the enemy. "*Les Anglois perdirent moult de leur gens, et estoient en tel estat qu'il y avoit plus de trois cens chevaliers à pié qui avoient laissiées leur armeures, les uns jetées en rivière, les autres les avoient despéciées, pour ce que il ne les povoient porter, et afin que les François ne s'en peussent aidier.*"⁽¹⁾ In

(1) Ann. 1373, t. vi., ch. xl. (Edit. Paulin, Paris.)

No. 27.



Specimens of Plate and Chain Armour, from Parham. Date A.D. 1250



No. 28.

Solleret, in Parham Collection. Date, A.D. 1430.



fording rivers and passing over marshy ground armed *cap-à-pie*, there were difficulties which any one can imagine. When fire-arms and artillery—grand levelers—became improved, it was found that no weight of armour that could be worn was proof against the force of powder; the importance of knighthood, consequently, faded away before the effect of fire-arms and of the weighty bombard.

Some remarks on the ancient mode of putting on armour, communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by Sir Samuel Meyrick,⁽¹⁾ give us, by the aid of an ancient document, an insight into the curiosities of the knightly toilette. It appears thereby that the knight began with his feet, and clothed upwards: he put on—1, his sabatynes, or steel clogs; 2, the greaves, or shin-pieces; 3, the cuisses, or thigh-pieces; 4, the breech of mail; 5, the *tuillettes*, or overlapping pieces below the waist; 6, the breastplate, or cuirass; 7, the vambraces, or covers for the arms; 8, the *rere-braces*, or *arrière-bras*, the covering for the remaining part of the arm to the shoulder; 9, the gauntlets; 10, then the dagger was hung; 11, the short sword: 12, the cloak or coat, which was worn over the armour; 13, the *bassinet*; 14, the long sword; 15, the pennoncel, held in the left hand; 16, the shield.

PLATE XXVIII.—Solleret, well articulated, and in good preservation, from Warwick Castle. The spur was generally screwed on. The extravagant fashion of the long toes is here well depicted. Length, 24 inches. Date 1400.

⁽¹⁾ *Archæologia*, vol. xx.

In *The Romance of Blonde of Oxford*, Jean of Dammartin has his arms put on him by his lady in a different order :—

“—Ma douce amie” dist Jehans.—v. 3,954.

“Mais aidiés moi à armer tost,”—v. 3,968.

Blonde, qui ne l’ose desdire,—v. 3,976.

Ses armeures li atire.

Primes vest unes espaulières

De boure de soie mult chières.

En son chief mist un bacinet

Fort et tenant, et bel et net,

Après a vestu .j. hauberc,

Il n’ot .j. milleur dusk’ à Merc.

Bien le chaint Blonde d’un tissu

Qu’ele meismes ot tissu.

En son chief une galandesche,

Qui estoit de l’uevre galesce,

Li lacha sa très douce amie.

Ses beles mains n’espargne mie

À lui servir.

Ne doit estre de cuer faillis

Qui de tel servant est servis.

Seur son haubert vest .j. pourpoint

De nul milleur, ne demanc point.

Par deseure a chainte s’espée,

Qui fu trencans et amourée.

A tant se fu armés Robins (his attendant)

D’un pourpoint, qui fu doublentins;

De fer eut ou cieff capelier,

Et à son chaint coutel d’achier.”—v. 4,013.

Romance of Blonde of Oxford and Jehan of Dammartin, by Philippe de Reimes, a Trouvère of the 13th century. Edited from MS. in Imp. Library, Paris. Camden Society, 1858.

Chaucer, in *The Tale of Sir Thopas*, gives an account of the dressing of a military dandy of the fourteenth century :—

“He dede next his white leere
Of cloth of lake whyt and cleere

No. 29.



Suit of Gothic Armour, known as à la Poulaine, from Parham. A.D. 1450.

A brech and eek a schert;
 And next his schert an aketoun,
 And over that an haberjoun,
 Fer persying of his hert;
 And over that a fyn hauberk,
 Was al i-wrought of Jewes werk,
 Ful strong it was of plate;
 And over that his cote-armour,
 As whyt as is a lily flour,
 In which he wold debate.
 His scheld was al of gold so red,
 And therinne was a bores heed,
 A charbocle by his syde."

PLATE XXIX.—Suit of Gothic armour, known as *à la Poulaine*, from the long solleret. Date 1450. This is the beautiful period of armour, before it became so ponderous and cumbersome, which it did in a century later.

In a paper on *Mediæval Manners and Customs*, from original documents in the reign of Henry VI., annotated on by Mr. Albert Way, he proceeds to say: "At the period when these instructions were compiled, in the earlier part of the fifteenth century, armour of mail had become almost entirely superseded by plate, a change which had commenced as early as the reign of Edward III. At that period the legs and arms were protected by rerebraces and vambraces, cuisses, and greaves; to which the globular breastplate, or plastron, was soon added; and this, with the 'rere-doss' or back-plate, formed the pair of 'plotis large,' as designated by Chaucer. The pair of plates, by which the use of the habergeon was rendered unnecessary, is mentioned as early as 1330, amongst the armour of Roger, Earl of March, taken in Newcastle." (*Archæol. Jour.*, xv. 229.)

Encumbrance
of Armour.

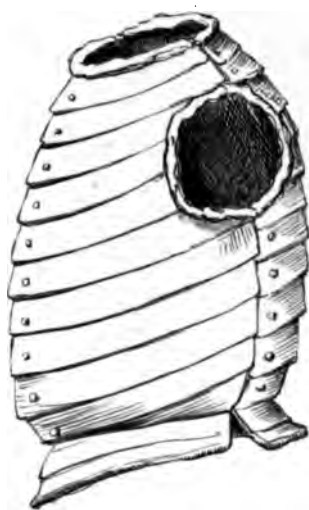
“One may judge,” remarks Father Daniel,⁽¹⁾ “how our knights were loaded, when they were completely armed.” In fact, enveloped as they were with such an amount of encumbrances, it is only wonderful that in the midst of summer—in the heats of Palestine too—amidst the dust and press of an engagement, they were not frequently suffocated in their armour, an event which did sometimes happen;⁽²⁾ besides, a man thus ‘harnessed’ (which became the appropriate designation) could have, one would suppose, but small powers of action. The exchange from mail to plate must have proved a relief, and may have been one reason why knights and others sought some body-defence less oppressive; for although plate armour was, undoubtedly, more ponderous than the hauberk, yet, in consequence of its not fitting so closely to the body, it could not have been so sweltering as the gambeson, and other quilted and stuffed garments necessarily worn beneath the pliable mail. Indeed, in a charge of cavalry very little exertion is required on the part of the rider, the success chiefly depending on the strength of the horse. All that the ancient knights had to do, then, was to keep their seats and direct their lances; but how they were able to use the sword, or battle-axe, or mace with any effect, seems incomprehensible.

Plate XXX. represents a curious splinted back

(¹) *Mil. Fran.*, i., liv. iv.

(²) *e.g.*, “The gallant Duke of York, being a fat man, was thrown down and smouldered to death,” on the field of Agincourt. (*Leland's Itinerary*, vol. i., fo. 5.)

No. 30.



Splinted Backs and Breast. *Circa A.D. 1570.* (From Tower Collection)



and breast; the object being to obtain flexibility. Date about 1570. (Tower Collection.)

James I. is said to have observed shrewdly, in praise of armour, that it not only protected the wearer, but also prevented him from injuring any other person. This, in some measure, accounts for the small number of knights slain in many engagements between cavalry only, in some of which not one knight was killed.⁽¹⁾ Probably, as ransom was the great object in those days, and a knight alive was of more value than a dead one, they rather wished to capture than kill their adversaries, and therefore endeavoured to unhorse them, as a knight in heavy armour when overthrown was in great need of help,⁽²⁾ and might be likened somewhat to a turtle on its back, until he was turned over and remounted by his friends, or seized by his enemies.⁽³⁾ The wounds received in action appear to have been chiefly contusions; blood was not always drawn. A man who could best endure the weight of the armour had greatly the advantage; thus physical strength entered more largely into the composition of a hero then, than in modern times. When once their

Few Killed in
Action.

(1) Hallam's *Middle Ages*, i., ch. iii., pt. ii., 474.—Sismondi, *Hist. des Rep. Itals.*, ix., ch. lxix. (edit. 1440).—Also Guicciardini's *Hist. of Italy at the Battle of Rapalle* (1494), where 100 men were killed, "a great slaughter in those days." It must, however, be taken into consideration that these were mercenaries, who had no great interest in killing one another.

(2) Tacitus mentions a similar occurrence: "Cataphracti inhabiles ad resurgendum humi dilabentes caduntur." (*Annales*, 17.)

(3) e.g. "Maints chevaliers et maints écuyers d'un côté et d'autre abattus, et puis par force relevés et rescous." (Froissart.) And again, "Sachez que qui étoit chu à terre, c'étoit fort du relever, s'il n'étoit trop bien secouru." (i. 404.)

long lances were fixed in the rest, the warriors spurred furiously against the foe, and the light cavalry of the Turks and Arabs could seldom stand against the direct and impetuous weight of their charge. Philippe de Comines relates that at the battle of Fornuova, fought under Charles VIII. in 1495, where a great number of Italian men-at-arms were overthrown, these could not be dispatched until they were regularly broken up (like huge lobsters) by the valets and servants of the army, who were provided with hatchets for cutting wood, each unfortunate man-at-arms having three or four men employed in his destruction.

PLATE XXXI.—Back and breastplate, opening in front, generally known as the waistcoat breastplate. This is a fine specimen, and the engraving on it is good. About the close of the sixteenth century. (Tower Collection.)

The artists of Milan were famous in the Middle Ages for their skill in armoury. Froissart gives an account of the preparation made by Henry, Duke of Hereford, afterwards Henry IV., and Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marischal, for their proposed combat in the lists at Coventry, by order of Richard II., in September, 1398. These two lords made ample provision for all things necessary for the encounter, and the Earl of Derby (on the part of Hereford) sent messengers to buy armour from the Duke of Milan, who directly acquiesced in the request, and gave the knight who had brought the message the choice of all his armour, plated and mailed, which, when he had selected, the Duke of Milan, out of his regard for the

No. 31.



Back and Breastplate, opening in front ; generally known as the Waistcoat Breastplate. Date *circa* 1580. (From the Tower.)



No. 32.



32. Globose Breastplate, with back-piece and demi-brassards, and chain.
First half of Sixteenth Century. (From the Tower.)

Earl of Derby, ordered four of his best armourers in Milan to accompany the knight to England, in order that the Earl of Derby might be armed as completely as possible. The Duke of Norfolk, on the other hand, sent to Germany to procure his armour. (iii. 317.)

PLATE XXXII.—Globose breastplate worn over chain. First half of sixteenth century. (Tower Coll. $\frac{3}{16}$.) The pieces do not, however, appear to belong to one another.

As the weights borne by cavalry horses of the present time is a subject of constant inquiry and complaint, it will be a curious and interesting, and not uninteresting, investigation to approximate the weights carried by ancient and modern chargers. A request made to the Deputy Adjutant-General, Colonel Sir Thomas Troubridge, Bart., C.B., to obtain through the medium of the military *attachés* the weights of the cavalry in the several principal European countries, met with great kindness and courtesy, and was immediately complied with, and the annexed tabular statement was shortly afterwards furnished.

Weights of
Cavalry.

It must be stated, in explanation, that the weights are in all cases exclusive of Body Guards, Household Troops, and Imperial Guards and Cuirassiers. These average $1\frac{1}{2}$ stone more. In the British cavalry there is little or no difference between heavy and light as regards weight, none as regards equipment. The cavalry of the Line is classed as heavy, medium, and light. On enlistment in the British army there is a difference in the height of the recruits, which slightly affects the weight, but in foreign armies the returns

show but little difference, except in Austria, where the Hussars and Lancers are about one stone lighter than the Dragoons.

It is remarkable that during the late war between Austria and Prussia, the Austrian cavalry has always been ridden down by the Prussian, although the average of weight is the same, except in the Austrian Hussars, who have a very light equipment, lighter than any other cavalry. From this an inference might be drawn that in the shock of the charge the weight of the man as well as that of the horse tells, although for outpost duty the equipment must be in favour of the horse.

WEIGHT OF THE CAVALRY IN THE SEVERAL PRINCIPAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

HORSE GUARDS, 25th July, 1866.

NATION.	AVERAGE WEIGHT.				TOTAL.	
	Man, including his Clothing.	Equipment, including Arms, Saddlery, and Kit, but without Forage.				
		Stone.	lb.			Stone.	lb.
English . .	10	12	7	8	18	6
French . .	10	10	7	7	18	3
Austrian . .	10	7	7	0	17	7
Russian . .	12	0	7	7	19	7
Prussian . .	10	7	7	0	17	7

The next obvious step was to endeavour to ascertain the weights of the ancient cavalry. On repairing to the Tower, facilities were in like manner at once readily granted. The weights of the man-armour and

the horse-armour of several of the figures in the horse-armoury were obtained; and, by kind permission, one of the figures, the Earl of Leicester's, was dismounted, and, on examination of the pieces, the weight of every article was found marked on the inside.

WEIGHT OF ARMOUR IN THE TOWER COLLECTION.
MAN AND HORSE.

DATE.	NAME.	MAN. Armour.	HORSE. Armour.	TOTAL.
A.D.		lb. oz.	lb. oz.	lb. oz.
1463	Edward IV. . . . .	.....	.....	84 6
1483	Richard III.	38 0	18 0	56 0
1520	Henry VIII.	77 0	52 0	129 0
1520	Charles Brandon, Duke of Norfolk	100 0	80 15	180 15
1520	Henry VIII., Maximilian's present	71 2	92 8	163 10
1535	Edward Clinton, Earl of Lincoln	60 0	53 0	113 0
1553	Francis Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon . . . . .	.....	.....	103 0
1553	Edward VI.	54 12	59 8	114 4
1560	Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester	87 1	41 2	128 3
1570	Sir Henry Lee . . . . .	.....	.....	66 8
1581	Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex . . . . .	.....	.....	55 8
1605	James I. . . . .	.....	.....	55 8
1606	Sir Horace Vere . . . . .	.....	.....	63 10
1660	Monk, Duke of Albe- marle . . . . .	.....	.....	64 10

ARMOUR OF ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER,
IN THE TOWER COLLECTION, A.D. 1560.

BODY ARMOUR.

		lb. oz.
Helmet		8 14
Gorget		3 8

BODY ARMOUR (*continued.*)

	lb.	oz.
Breast and Tassets	17	12
Back	9	7
Pauldrons	7	11
„ with Arm-pieces	8	5
Gauntlets, one	1	6
Manifer, left hand	3	0
Leg-pieces, right	3	10
„ „ left	3	10
Demi-cuisse and } right	1	12
Génouillière } left	1	12
Weight of Body Armour	70	11

EXTRA PIECES FOR THE JOUST.

	lb.	oz.
Grand Garde	12	5
Volante piece	4	0
	16	5

HORSE ARMOUR.

	lb.	oz.
Neck-piece, or Crinet	5	6
Chanfrein	6	0
Horses' Breast-piece—Peytrel	7	12
Saddle	22	0
	41	2

ARMS, ETC.

	lb.	oz.
Sword	4	0
Lance ⁽¹⁾	7	0
Vamplate for ditto	1	14
Mace	12	0
Bit and Bridle	4	0
	28	14

EPITOME.

	lb.	oz.
Suit of Armour	70	11
Horse Armour	41	2
Arms	28	14
Extra for the Joust	16	5
	157	0

⁽¹⁾ Weight of present Cavalry lance and flag, 5lb. 7oz.

WEIGHTS OF BRITISH CAVALRY, A.D. 1867.

	st. lb.	lb.
Man, including Clothing . . .	10 12 . .	152
Equipment: Arms, Saddlery, Kit, } but without Forage . . . }	7 8 . .	106
		<hr/> 258 lb.

WEIGHT OF MAN AT ARMS, A.D. 1560.

	st. lb.	lb.
Man, including Clothing . . .	10 12 . .	152
Armour of Man . . .		70
" Horse (<i>vide</i> weights of Earl } of Leicester in the Tower Coll.) . }		41
Arms . . .		28
Saddlery, Bits, Bridles, Stirrups, and Kit (say 5 st.)		70
		<hr/> 361 lb.

Before arriving at a conclusion, it must be observed that the ancient man-at-arms was much less bulky than the modern trooper. The narrowness of the armour for the legs is very striking in most suits. The severe training necessary to be undergone to enable a man to support the weight of armour, and the constant hard exercise requisite to keep him in muscular vigour for the *mélée*, and in addition, the heat produced by the armour and its under-clothing, must have prevented the acquisition of obesity.⁽¹⁾ So that the men of the armour-period were more sinewy, with greater power of endurance, and more spare of person. The war-horses which they bestrode were great, powerful animals, more like well-bred dray-horses, or the Norman cart-horses, or that useful

(¹) It was mentioned at the Tower, that the gunners of the Royal Artillery were generally selected to appear as "men in armour" in the procession on Lord Mayor's day, and that much difficulty was experienced in finding pieces of armour large enough to encase them.

breed, the French post-horses, possessing great power, but without much pace.

Now, by the official return, it will be seen that the English dragoon horse carries 18 st. 6 lb. = 258 lb. ; that is, allowing 10 st. 12 lb. for the man and his clothing. There was, probably, not much difference in the weight of the dragoon's clothing and that worn under the armour of the man-at-arms ; so if we allow 10 st. 12 lb. (perhaps too much) as the weight of the man-at-arms and his clothing, as against 10 st. 12 lb. of the dragoon, it will appear that the horse of the Earl of Leicester carried 361 lb., or 103 lb. more than the English troop-horse.

The man and horse-armour alone of Charles Brandon, Duke of Norfolk's tilting suit, weighed 180 lb. 16 oz. It must be recollected that the war-horses only bore these weights when engaged in conflict, or in the tilting-field ; on the road they were relieved of their burden, and were led by the hand. The horse-armour alone of Henry VIII. weighed 92 lb. 8 oz.

The troop-horses of the Life Guards carry 22st. 9lb. 14oz. = 317 lb. 14oz., viz. :—

			st.	lb.	oz.
Horse Appointments, including Cloak	...		6	11	8
Accoutrements.	lb.	oz.			
Helmet	...	3	7		
Cuirasse	...	10	12		
Clothing	...	—	—		
Average weight of Trooper	...	...	12	9	7
			22	9	14

Duration of
Life.

It is a remark made by a late antiquarian, in annotating on a chronicle of the time of Edward III., that,

on reference to Dugdale's *Baronage*, it will appear that in the Middle Ages the deaths of the great proportion of the English nobility, even when occasioned by natural causes (for war and pestilence had their full share), occurred under the age of forty. (*Archæol.*, xxii. p. 241, note). In the above-mentioned chronicle, allusion is repeatedly made to the old age of the king: "The kynge now who had been longe oppressed with the discomodities of ould age," although at the time he had scarcely completed his sixty-fourth year—a period of life which would not now be so characterised. Shakespeare speaks of "Old John of Gaunt, time-honoured Lancaster," who was born in 1340, and died in 1399. Spenser calls the Earl of Leicester an old man, though he was then not fifty; and Lord Huntingdon represents Coligny as very old, though he died at fifty-two.

The average duration of life has no doubt increased, but it must be borne in mind that in the Early and Middle Ages the *toga virilis* was assumed at a period which we should designate as that of the stripling. Witness the Black Prince in charge of the van of the English army at the age of fifteen and two months. King John of France's youngest son Philip fought valiantly by his father's side at Poitiers, although not fourteen years old. Age is considered in modern times no disqualification to the employment of general officers; the experience and *sang-froid* of years may operate advantageously in directing the movements of armies; but the case was different when the commander had to stimulate the courage of his subordi-

nates by acts of self-devotion, and sustain the honour of the day by being foremost at the point of danger.

A glance, however, at the Scrope and Grosvenor Roll, where the ages of the witnesses are generally given, will leave a different impression to that expressed by Mr. Amyot, *e.g.*:—"Sir John Sully, aged 105 years." "Sir William de Aton, aged 87." "John Thirlewale deposes that his father was, when he died, eldest esquire of all the north, and was armed 69 years."

CHAPTER VIII.

HORSE ARMOUR—WHEN FIRST INTRODUCED HERE—BRITISH AND FOREIGN BREEDS—WHITE HORSES IN HIGH ESTIMATION—FOOD OF HORSES—IMPORTATION AND EXPORTATION—IMPROVEMENT OF BREED—GREAT NUMBER EMPLOYED.

As it was of vital importance to the knights that their war-horses should be preserved from injury as much as possible, they were protected by armour, and were scarcely less encumbered than their riders. The faces, heads, and ears of the animals were covered over with a sort of mask called a *chanfrain* or *chamfrain*,⁽¹⁾ made generally of metal, sometimes of jacked leather (*cuir bouilli*). From the centre of these an iron spike often projected, intended to pierce any object with which the horse might come in collision; their necks were defended by a number of small plates connected together, called a *crinière*; they had *poitrinals* for their breasts, and *croupières* for their flanks. War-horses.

At tournaments they had bags of straw, like bolsters, in front of their chests, or linen stuffed like

⁽¹⁾ These were sometimes mounted in a very costly manner. It is related of the Count of St. Pol, at the siege of Harfleur (A.D. 1449), that he had one for his war-horse which was valued at 30,000 crowns. The Count of Foix, at the taking of Bayonne, in the same reign (Charles VII.), had a chamfrain of steel garnished with gold and precious stones, valued at 15,000 gold crowns. (*Hist. de Charles VII.*, sous l'an 1449.)

the gambeson, and covered over with rich embroidery or devices.⁽¹⁾ The reins were generally iron chains enveloped in leather.⁽²⁾ Horses thus accoutred were styled barded, and corruptly, barbed; they were also frequently called covered horses,⁽³⁾ *barde* in old French signifying *covered*. The armed horse came into use in England towards the end of the thirteenth century (its armament was very different at different times), and was continued in our armies at least to the time of Queen Elizabeth.⁽⁴⁾ W. Patten, in his description of the battle of Musselburgh (1 Edward VI.), says, "The Scotch horses were all naked without *barbes*, whereof though there were right many among us (the English), yet not one put on, forasmuch as

(¹) *Vide* Champollion, in *King René's Tourney-book*. 15th century.

(²) "Item ij paires de resnes de fer." (*Inventory of Louis Hutin*, quoted in *Anc. Arm.*, iii. 321.) The object, of course, being to prevent their being cut.—So we also find in *The Souldiers' Accidence*, written by Markham in 1643, "Reins being lined with a small chain of iron to prevent cutting." (p. 34.)

(³) "Cataphracta (armatura) in equis *Italice* dicitur barda." (Facciolati, *Lexicon*).—"Barda, Gall., Barde. Barda, est armadura di cuoio cotto, o di ferro, con laquel s'armava la groppa, il collo, èl petto dei cavalli, che perciò si dicean bardati." (*Accadem. della Crusca*.)

(⁴) "At Greenwich Park, the Queen's (Mary) Pensioners mustered in bright harness, and many barded horses. Anno 1556." (Pegge's *Curialia*, pt. ii., p. 46).—Mention is made of Bards in the Ordonnance of Henri II. of France (Ordonnance de l'an 1549): "Ledit homme d'armes entretiendra quatre chevaux, le deux de service pour la guerre, dont l'un aura le devant de *bardes* avec le chamfrain et les flancois, &c." (Quoted in Daniel, tom. i., liv. vi., ch. ii.)—As a matter of curiosity, it may be mentioned that probably the only barded animals are now to be found among the Arab tribes of Central Africa. (*Vide* a paper by Mr. Petherick in *Journal of the Royal United Serv. Inst.*, vol. iv., No. xiii., p. 171.) "The horsemen, when going to battle, cover their cattle to the knees with a defensive armour of thick felt."

at our coming forth in the morning we looked for nothing less than for battle that day."

In order to bring their chargers fresh to the field, the knights on their marches bestrode light, easy-going nags, palfreys, or hackneys,⁽¹⁾ and only mounted their war-horses when conflict seemed close at hand. So in Froissart we read, "Sir Eustace d'Ambrecicourt was completely armed except his helmet, and was mounted on a hackney which had been given to him, but he had a very fine war-horse led by one of his people" (Johnes, i., ch. cxviii.). The chargers were led by the squires, who held them by the right hand, whence they came to be called *Dextrarii* or *Destriers*.

To secure a powerful animal, able to carry the weight imposed upon him, and of high courage to bear down all obstacles, was of course one of the most important provisions of the knight. Mares were never employed as chargers; it was considered a degradation to ride them.⁽²⁾ It was thought requisite that the war-horse should be a tall horse; whence, perhaps, the expression "to ride the high horse."

The English horse did not attain its admitted English Horse. superiority till towards the eighteenth century. The breed is about as much mixed as that of the human

(1) Fr. *Haquené*; Ital. *Acchinéa*; Span. *Haccanéa*, *Háca*; whence our English word "Hack," a common useful horse. "Equos vocatos Hakenys." (Rymer, *an.* 1481.)—"Il y a chevaux de plusieurs manières, à ce que li uns sont Destrier grant pour le combat, li autre sont Palefroi pour chevaucher à l'aide de son cors, li autres Roucis pour sommes porter, &c." (Brunetus MS. *apud* Du Cange, *voc* *Palafredus* et *Dextrarius*.)

(2) So it continues in India, Arabia, and in the East generally, to the present day.

inhabitants of this island, and to this cause may be attributed the constitutional vigour of the one, and the perfection of the other. The genuine British horse appears to have been short in stature.⁽¹⁾ Some naturalists have supposed that its descendants have continued in the ponies of England and Wales, in the shelties and galloways of Scotland, and the garrons of Ireland. Cæsar praises the activity of the British horses, as well as the dexterity of the drivers of the war-chariots, "They can stop their horses at full gallop down a steep hill," says he; "and can check and turn them in a small compass—run along the pole—vault upon the harness, and throw themselves back into their chariots with the utmost celerity."⁽²⁾ These horses must have been active and powerful in an extraordinary degree, when we take into consideration the fury with which they were driven, and the nature of the ground over which they had to travel. They were decorated with heavy trappings of bright metal, specimens of which, recovered in exhumations, are among the most interesting relics of that remote period.⁽³⁾ In the opening of a barrow in the wolds of Yorkshire the skeleton of a man was discovered, probably a British charioteer, on either side of him the remains of wheels, and under each of these the skeleton of a horse. Judging from the size of their leg-bones, neither of them reached 13 hands.⁽⁴⁾ The

(1) "Equos habent parvos et celeres." (Xiphilinus, *Epitome Dionis Nicæi*, p. 373.)

(2) *Bell. Gall.*, iv. 33.

(3) *Vide Horæ Ferales*, p. 194.

(4) *Vide Proceedings Archæol. Inst.*, anno 1846.

chariots were also very low. The diameter of a wheel disinterred on Hamden Hill measured only 30 inches.⁽¹⁾ The importation of horses as reinforcements for the Roman cavalry stationed here must necessarily have effected an improvement in the native breed.

Among the Anglo-Saxons horses were highly esteemed, and considered as presents worthy of the acceptance of kings and great men. In 926, Hugh Capet sent over to Æthelstan, among other valuable gifts, several horses, when treating for the hand of Ethelswitha, that prince's sister.⁽²⁾ Æthelstan bequeathed in his will "the horses given him by Thurbrand, and the white horses presented to him by Lisbrand. Eight horses, of which four were to be saddled, were among the heriots which customarily appertained to the rank of the highest nobility. Four horses to a king's thane, and so on.⁽³⁾ Every man was obliged to have two at his plough; hence it is not surprising that the pirates of the North were so soon able to transform themselves into cavalry, after their landing on the coast.⁽⁴⁾ Horses appear, also, to have been an article of exportation, from the law of Æthelstan, by which it is forbidden to send them beyond sea.⁽⁵⁾

According to a table of rates given in Whitaker's

(1) *Archæol.*, xxi. 39.

(2) "*Equos cursores plurimos.*" (*Malmesbury*, ii. §135; edit. Hardy, 1840.)—The term "courser" was used to denote a war-horse, not a racer: "*Corserius, equus bellator.*" (Du Cange.)

(3) *Kemble's Saxons*, ii. 99.

(4) *Thorpe's Lappenberg*, ii. 358.

(5) *Laws of Æthelstan*, i. xviii.

History of Manchester (ii. 349), horses were very dear in England in the tenth century, three-fourths dearer than oxen. "A middling horse" is quoted at a price equivalent to £30 of modern money; "a wild horse," £15; and a first-rate horse, £600!

Irish Horses,

The Irish had a breed of little active horses, much in request for mounting our light cavalry, the hobilers. When Richard II. went to Ireland in 1399, Mac-Morough, who called himself King of Ireland, descended from a mountain riding upon a horse without a saddle, which was said to have cost him 400 cows.⁽¹⁾ In Queen Elizabeth's time, the Irish had attained to saddles, but not to stirrups.⁽²⁾ The Irish appear even at that time to have been remarkable for their excellence in horsemanship (*Top. Hib.*, iii., c. 10; Holinshed, *Description of Ireland*, f. 28, a). "Sellis equitando non utuntur." (Gildas.)

Of all countries in the world, Arabia has produced the finest breed of horses. From the appreciation of the noble qualities of the horse there, the East appears, as it were, its natural home.⁽³⁾ The Arabian breed was diffused along the African shore of the Mediterranean, and Spain, from its contiguity, and from being under the domination of the Moors for nearly seven centuries, acquired a celebrity for its horses, and was from an early period the favourite

⁽¹⁾ Harris' *Hibernia*, p. 53.

⁽²⁾ *Hibernia Pacata*, p. 345.

⁽³⁾ While the wild Arab was fondling his horse with affectionate regard, horses in England, in the fourteenth century, were baited as a diversion. (MS., K's. Lib., No. 2, b. viii.)—In Strutt's *Sports* are accounts of curious feats performed by trained horses.

mart of the knightly charger. "The good horse" which William of Normandy bestrode on the field of Hastings, had been brought from Galicia, ⁽¹⁾ and the Duke of Newcastle, writing in 1667, says the Spanish horse is the noblest in the world. ⁽²⁾ The duke was a competent judge. Markham, however, a military writer of the same period, has a different classification; he estimates "the Neapolitan" as "best, the Greek next, then the Spaniard, the English, the Almaine, or the French." (*Souldier's Accidence*, p. 34.)

One of the Norman nobles, Robert de Bellesme, Earl of Shrewsbury, is celebrated for having introduced Spanish horses into his Welsh possessions, which, in contradistinction to the native breeds, are stated to have been remarkable for their majestic proportions. ⁽³⁾ In addition to

"Dextriers de Castille,"

we hear of

"Palefrois Danois,
Roussins de Bretagne." ⁽⁴⁾

As early as the reign of our Henry II., the traffic in horses began to assume much of its future character. Smithfield was established as a horse-market;

(1) "Sun boen cheval fist demander
Ne poeit l'en meillor trover.
D'Espaigne li ont envéié
Un Reis par mult grant amistié;
Galtier Giffart l'ont améné,
Ki a Saint Jame avait esté."—*Rom. de Rou.*

(2) *New Method to Dress Horses*, p. 50.

(3) Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itin.*, lib. ii., c. 12.

(4) The "roussin," a word probably derived from the Teutonic *ross*, was an inferior quality of animal. So Chaucer: "He rode upon a Rowncey as he could."

its name seems originally to have been Smoothfield,⁽¹⁾ and there horses were matched against each other, with the object of testing their qualities—perhaps the first indication of horse-racing in London. Shakespeare alludes to the practice :—

Falstaff. "Where's Bardolph?"

Page. "He's gone to Smithfield to try your
Worship a horse."⁽²⁾

Easter and Whitsuntide were favourite seasons with the aristocracy of the Middle Ages for running their horses. In the old metrical romance of *Syr Beves of Hamptown*, we find

"In somer at Whitsontyde,
When knights most on horses ride,
The king a course he did grede (i.e., proclaim),
For to assayen the best steed
Which were both stiff and strong."

And again :—

"Sir Guy bestrode a *Rabyte* (an Arab),
That was mickle and nought light,
That Sir Beves in Paynim londe
Hadde wounnen with his honde."

The intercourse with the East during the Crusades had, doubtless, impressed the Northern knights with a high opinion of the qualities of the Arab horses.

(¹) Fitzstephen, *Hist. of London*.

(²) 2 *Hen. IV.*, act i., sc. 2.—Smithfield, with its traditions of tournaments and historical events, games of the citizens, and those terrible executions, and, in more modern times, celebrated for its cattle market and Bartholomew fair, has now lost all semblance of its former vocation. Here, on the 15th of June, 1381, Sir William Walworth slew Wat Tyler. The king and his party, according to Stowe, "stood towards the east end, near St. Bartholomew's Priory ;

We find in the wardrobe account of Edward I. the various Latin terms employed in describing horses; the valuation of those supplied for military purposes rendered a specification requisite.⁽¹⁾ Thus "*sorus piole*" (p. 78) is a sorrel or speckled horse; "*palefridus et runcinus ferrandus*" (p. 59), white, spotted, or dappled; "*badius*" (p. 78), a bay; "*brunus badius*" (p. 79), brown bay; "*clarus badius*" (p. 173), light do.; "*favus*" (p. 137), yellow, red, coloured; "*ferrandus liardus*" (p. 176), white dappled; "*grisseus*" (p. 137), grey; "*grisseus ferrandus*" (do.), iron grey. In the romance of *Richard Cœur de Lion* mention is made of two of the king's horses, "Favel off Cypra, ne Lyard off Pris" (Favel of Cyprus, and Lyard of Paris.) Among the various colours by which horses were distinguished, white appears from the earliest times to have been held in the highest estimation, and to have been considered the mark of purity and pre-eminence. In the Apocalypse we read of "Death on the pale horse;" and again, "a white horse, and he that sat on him was called Faithful and True, and the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horses."⁽²⁾ In after times the same feeling of veneration for the colour induced princes and leaders to

the commons towards the west, in form of battle." (p. 288, edit. 1631.) The stake at which so many Christian martyrs perished is supposed to have been opposite the Church of St. Bartholomew the Great. "To the south-west," says Maitland, "stood the gallows, or public place of execution, denominated the Elms, from the great quantity of such trees growing there." (*Hist. of London*, p. 503.)—See also Howel's *Londinopolis*, p. 328.

(¹) See further in this work, under *Appreciation of Horses*.

(²) Rev. vi.

adopt the white horse as an emblem, and they bore it on their standards. Tacitus tells us that white horses were kept by the Germans in hallowed woods and groves, and they were never desecrated by being put to any kind of labour, for they were considered the confidants of the gods.⁽¹⁾ From these sacred horses it is probable that many of the ancient heroes derived their names. Hengist and Horsa furnish striking examples of this, their names being nearly synonymous.⁽²⁾ A white horse was their ensign, which afterwards was adopted as the arms of Kent. It is borne on the shields of Brunswick and Hanover. When John of France was conducted prisoner to England, the Black Prince, in order to treat the captive monarch with the utmost deference and respect, mounted him on a white horse, and rode by his side on a black palfrey. From a quotation in Du Cange (v. *Equus*), it would appear that the Pope gave his sanction to high ecclesiastics and others to ride on white horses on grand occasions. Elmham (p. 61) states that Henry V., at Agincourt, was mounted on "a noble horse as white as snow." St. Remy, however, describes it to have been "a small grey horse." Henry VIII. rode to the Field of the Cloth of Gold on a white courser, as represented in the picture at Windsor Castle. James I. rode a white jennet when in procession to the Tower.

Edward II. imported horses from Champagne

⁽¹⁾ Se enim ministros Deorum, illos (equos) conscios putant." (*Germ.*, x.)

⁽²⁾ *Archæol.*, xxxi. 291.

and Lombardy,⁽¹⁾ Edward III. from Castile⁽²⁾ and Sicily.⁽³⁾ In 1348 there was a great pestilence among cattle, and the chance of their surviving was so small that a horse which previously would have cost 40s., could be purchased for half-a-mark.⁽⁴⁾ In 1370 horses had become so scarce that Parliament interfered to check the exorbitant demands of dealers. Richard II. drew the choicest of his stud from abroad. Some of the nobility were great breeders of horses, and kept up a large stock.⁽⁵⁾ The wealthy regular clergy also encouraged the breed. "Religion," says Piers Ploughman, "is a rider, a pricker of a palfrey from manor to manor." Chaucer says of his monk, "Full many a daintie horse had he in stable," and the one on which he rode was in high condition, "his hors *in great estate*." The guests' stables at St. Albans would accommodate 300 horses, and a lamp was kept burning there all night.⁽⁶⁾ A valuation was made of the Earl of Leicester's horses after his death in 1588. His stud at Wansted was valued at £316 0s. 8d.; one horse, called Bay Ley, was valued at £26 13s. 4d.; Bald Dakers, an old horse, at £15. (See Lyson's *Environs of London*, vol. iv.)

It was usual to feed horses on bread made on

(1) Rymer, i., pt. iv., p. 135.

(2) "Ad Regem Castellæ super emptum Dextrariorum in Hispania." (*Ibid.*, sub anno 1331.)

(3) *Ibid.*, sub anno 1335.

(4) Knighton, lib. iv., p. 2,699.

(5) "Rex concessit Thomæ Duci Surr' totum staurum stallionum jumentorum et pullanorum quæ fuerunt Comitis Warr' in com' Warr et Wygorn." (*Calend. Rot. Pat.*, r. ii., p. 232, § 6.)

(6) See Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, ii. 206-7.

purpose for them (*payn pour chivaulx*, as it was termed in some of the statutes), and it was enacted that "no hosteller should make horse-bread in his hostry nor without, but bakers should make it."⁽¹⁾ This act was repealed by a permissive one, 32 Henry VIII.

By the 2nd Henry VII., prohibiting the exportation of horses, we may infer that the English breed had risen in estimation, and the war of York and Lancaster had probably rendered them scarce. Henry VIII. paid particular attention to the promotion of the breed of horses, which might have been expected from one who was a proficient in all manly exercises. His Majesty, "calling to his most gracious memory the great decay of the breed of good and swift, and strong horses," caused many acts to be passed in reference. "Horses, mares, and geldings were not to be exported, and they were not to be sold to be conveyed to Scotland."⁽²⁾ "Every brood mare was to be at least fourteen hands high. Every owner of a deer-park was to keep two brood mares of thirteen handfuls at the least, to be measured from the lowest part of the hove of the foot unto the highest part of the shoulder, and every handful to contain four inches of the standard. Archbishops and dukes were to keep seven trotting horses for the saddle; marquesses, earls, and barons, five; viscounts and barons, three; other spiritual and lay persons of certain estate, one." (33 Hen. VIII. c. 5.) The stealing any horse was made felony without

(¹) 13 Rich. II., stat. i., c. 8.

(²) Repealed by Charles II., by which horses were allowed to be exported on a duty of five shillings each.

benefit of clergy. (37 Hen. VIII., c. 4.) In fact, the improvement of the horse appears from the earliest times to have been an object of royal solicitude; and thus a breed was produced which flourished from the time of the Crusades until the days of the Tudors, a period which may be designated as the era of the Great Horse. The charger of the Middle Ages was, doubtless, a splendid animal, although more signalised for strength and lofty bearing than for speed. The animated description of the war-horse in the Book of Job is, doubtless, familiar to most persons. His terrible snorting; his hoofs digging in the valley with excitement; his high courage; "mocking at fear, though the quiver rattleth against him, the glittering spear and the shield, and he smelleth the battle afar off." (Job xxxix. 20.)

When defensive armour became less cumbersome, a lighter sort of horse was required for military purposes. The Stuarts, by their strong predilection and patronage of the course, laid the foundation of that superiority which the horses of this country have long since maintained over every breed upon the earth. James I. gave £500 for an Arab; but he turned out a failure, and the English horses beat him everywhere. ⁽¹⁾ The same price was asked for one in 1684. ⁽²⁾

At the termination of the Civil War, attention

⁽¹⁾ Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, *ut supra*, p. 73.

⁽²⁾ "I went to see three Turkish or Asian horses, newly brought over, and now first shown to his Majesty: 500 guineas was demanded for the first, 300 for the second, and 200 for the third." (Evelyn's *Diary*, ii. 201.)

was again directed to the breed of horses. The Lord Protector, we may presume, patronised the movement, for one Richard Place is said to have been his stud-master, and the owner of a celebrated Arabian, White Turk. ⁽¹⁾ King Charles II. sent abroad the Master of the Horse to procure a number of foreign horses and mares for breeding, and the mares brought over by him (as also many of their produce) have since been called Royal Mares.

The Stradling, or Lister Turk, was brought into England by the Duke of Berwick, from the siege of Buda, in the reign of James II. (*General Stud Book*, i. 443.)

The Byerley Turk is said to have been Captain Byerley's charger in Ireland, in King William's wars. ⁽²⁾

Curwen's Bay Barb was a present to Louis XIV., from Muly Ishmael, King of Morocco, and was brought into England by Mr. Curwen. (*General Stud Book*.)

Darley's Arabian was brought over by Mr. Darley, of Yorkshire, and was sire of Flying Childers.

So successful was the cross with these and others, that an animal was produced infinitely superior in form, speed, and strength to anything which had appeared before in England; and there are none of

⁽¹⁾ Sire of Wormwood and Commoner.

⁽²⁾ Henry, son of "Colonel Byerley, an old Cavalier, who had commanded a regiment under the Marquis of Newcastle, and garrisoned his house at Midridge for the King." (Surtees, *Hist. of Durham*, ii. 390.)

the thorough-breds of the present day which may not boast a remote descent from the "coursers" of Arabia.

The number of horses brought into the field in early days is somewhat surprising. The Saracens, when they overran the West in the eighth century, are said to have brought with them 200,000 horses. In Britain the supply must have been ample, for Cassivellaunus, when he dismissed the main body of the army, retained 4,000 of his war-chariots for the purpose of harassing the Romans. In the poor country of Scotland, Froissart informs us that all the men of the army were mounted, except the riff-raff, who followed on foot. ⁽¹⁾ On hostile occasions, therefore, some 15,000 or 20,000 horses at least must have been collected. The same chronicler relates, that Charles VI. of France assembled a magnificent (but the almost incredible) force of 350,000 horses, to put down the Bishop of Norwich and the Urbanites, in the "war of the anti-Popes," in 1383, mentioned on page 275.

In the days when riding supplied almost the only means of locomotion, the demand for horses was of course very great. The removal of a family of opulence involved the necessity of a train of horses equal to a modern cavalry regiment. In the list of the lords and gentlemen of England who were present at the marriage of the Princess Mary, sister to Henry VIII., who accompanied her out of England,

Great
Cavalcades.

⁽¹⁾ "Tous montés sur haquenées, car nul ne va à pied en Ecosse, mais tous à cheval, excepté la ribaudaille qui les suit à pied. (i. 25.)

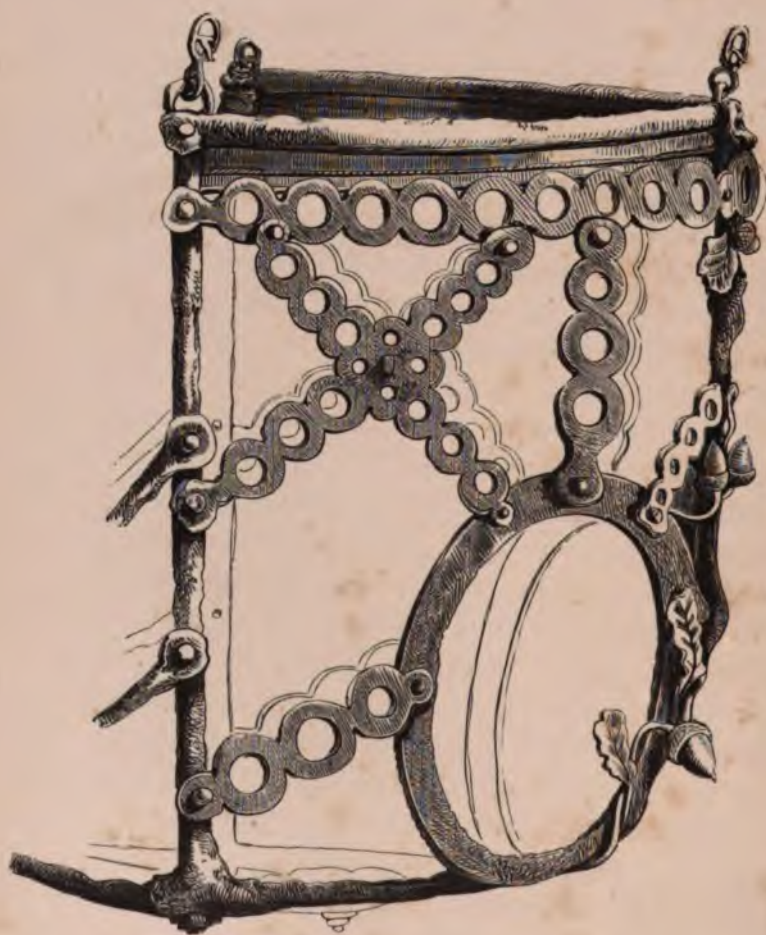
were—"The Duke of Norfolk, my Lady his Wyff, the Countess of Oxenford, and the Lord Edmond Howard, with 100 horses. The Marquis of Dorset, my Lady his Wyff, and the Lord Edward hys Broder, with 80 horses. The Lord Thomas Rowthall, Bishop of Duresme, with 68 horses. The Erll of Surrey, the sonne and heire to the Duke of Norfolk, with 58 horses. The Lord Lawarre, with 30 horses. The Lord Berners, Chamberlain to the Frenche Queen. The Lord Montaigle, and my Lady his Wyff, 30 horses. The Lord Richard Grey; The Lord John Grey; and a very long retinue." In this cavalcade there must have been at least 700 horses. (See Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. ii., p. 701.)

When Edward VI. went in progress into Sussex, the number of his train was so great that the incursion was feared like an army of locusts. "It was thought good," writes the king in his journal, "that they should be sent home, save only 150, wich were pickt out of al the bandis. This was because the traine was thought to be nier 4,000 horse, wich ware enough to eat up the country; for ther was litle medow nor hay al the way as I went."

In the time of Charles I., before the breaking out of the civil war, horses were so deficient in England, that an officer of rank, addressing the king, states that it is a question whether or not the whole kingdom could make 2,000 good horse that might equal 2,000 French. ⁽¹⁾

After all, King Solomon appears to have been the

(1) *Sir Edward Harwood's Advice to King Charles.* Lond., 1642.



Horse-muzzles are principally portrayed in Jost Ammon's woodcuts, few specimens now existing in England: they date about A.D. 1570. The one here represented is hanging up in the Hall at Ilam, Derbyshire.

greatest horse-master of ancient or modern times, for he had stabling for 40,000 horses (1 Kings iv. 26). He drew his supplies from Egypt, and not from Arabia (*ibid.*, x. 28).

According to McCulloch, it may be fairly estimated that there are actually in Great Britain from 1,300,000 to 1,400,000 horses. Taking these at the low average of £10 to £12, their actual commercial value would be from £13,000,000 to £16,000,000 sterling, exclusive of the young horses.

The county of Sussex was celebrated for its iron-works from an early period. In 1254 the Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex was ordered to furnish 30,000 horse-shoes and 60,000 nails (*Lib. Roll.*, 38 Henry III.); and in the 13th year of Edward II., 1319, Peter de Walsham, sheriff, by virtue of a precept from the king's exchequer, made a provision of horse-shoes and nails of different sorts (*providencias de ferris equorum et clavis pro eisdem diversimode fabrice*) for the expedition against the Scots. The number supplied on the occasion was 3,000 horse-shoes and 29,000 nails, and the cost, together with the carriage, amounted to £14 13s. 10d. (Wardrobe Account, Edward II.)

Sussex
Iron-works.

PLATE XXXIII.—A specimen of a perforated steel horse-muzzle; they are rarely to be met with now in England. They date from about A.D. 1570, and are principally portrayed in Jost Ammon's woodcuts. The one here represented is hanging up in the Hall at Ilam, Derbyshire.

THE SADDLE may be included amongst the defences of the knight, for its high pommel and cantle

Military
Saddle.

covered the lower part of the horseman's person. The Bayeux tapestry furnishes many examples of these, as also the seals of the Conqueror, William Rufus, and others.

Mr. Hewitt brings under notice a curious fact; from a passage in the *Roman de Rou*, we learn that the knight sometimes went to battle tied to his saddle:—

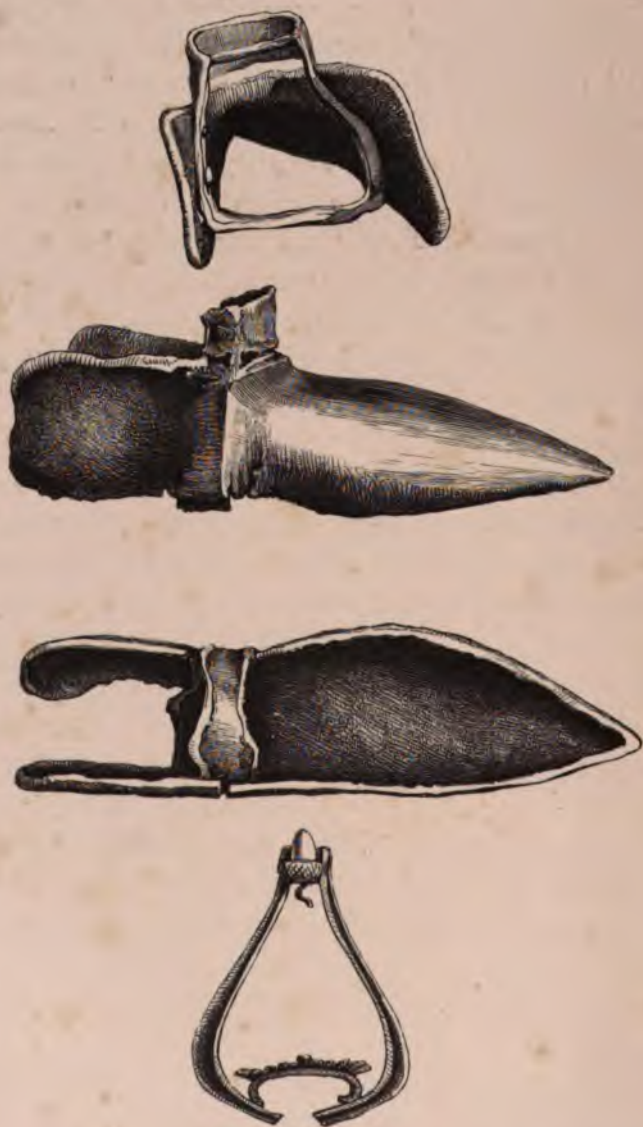
“Li reis aveit un soldéier,
Brun out nom, novel chevalier.
Sor son cheval sist noblement,
Apareillié mult richement.
A sa sele fu atachiez,
E per li coisses fu liez,” &c.—(Line 16,064.)

“However strange such a device may appear,” says Mr. Hewitt, “the mention of it by other ancient writers forbids us to regard it as a mere vagary of the poet. In the fifteenth century, the writer of the life of Earl Richard of Warwick tells us that, at a jousting match, his hero was obliged to dismount from his horse, because some of his adversaries had accused him of being tied to his saddle.”⁽¹⁾

In the account of the expenses of John of Brabant and Thomas and Henry of Lancaster, mention is made of the prices of saddles, varying from 10s. to 13s. 4d. (Camden, *Miscellany*, vol. ii.), and a good representation of the saddle of this period will be found in the Harl. MSS. 3,244, fol. 27. In the fourteenth century a remarkable feature appears in some of the military saddles. They are made so high in the seat that the knee of the rider is on a level with

⁽¹⁾ *Ancient Armour*, i. 172.

No. 34.



This curious combination of Stirrup and Solleret is preserved in Warwick Castle. They are very heavy, and are made right and left. The lower Stirrup is an English specimen of the English-Gothic period, *temp.* Henry VI. It is in the possession of Mr. R. T. Pritchett.

the horse's back. (See the figure of Sir Geoffry Louterell, engraved in Carter's *Sculpture*, pl. xiv., and in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. vi.) Mr. Hewitt quotes an instance given by Hefner (*Trachten*, pt. ii., pl. 8), from a chronicle written about 1350, where the pommel and cantle so touch each other, that they form, as it were, one continuous rail. The seal of Edward III. supplies an instance of the high-backed war-saddle. Examples of those of the fifteenth century are given in Harl. MSS. 326, fol. 13; do., 4,431, fol. 114; and in vol. ii. of Strutt's *Horda*. Their peculiarity consists in their overlapping the thigh of the rider in front, rising moderately high behind, and always permitting the horseman to sit well down on his horse. Captain Cruso, in his *Militarie Instructions for the Cavallerie*, published in 1632, illustrates the saddle of the seventeenth century.

It is remarked by Meyrick that knights and men-at-arms from the Conquest to the close of Richard III.'s reign, are always represented with the feet pointing down when in the stirrups, and after this period the heel was dropped, and the toes were turned upwards. This is, however, by no means an invariable rule.

Mode of
Riding.

A curious combination of stirrup and solleret is preserved in Warwick Castle. The pair is very heavy, and made right and left. (See Plate XXXIV.)

The lower stirrup, on the same plate, is an English specimen of the Gothic period, *temp.* Henry VI. This is in the possession of Mr. Pritchett.

Heroic Ages
and Chivalry.

It has been observed that a strong resemblance might be traced between the manners of the age of chivalry and those of the old heroic ages which the immortal Homer has illustrated; that, in fact, Jerusalem was to the knights of the Crusades what Troy had been to the Grecian heroes. Certainly, the greatest fierceness and brutality, the utmost generosity and hospitality, were imputed to the heroic ages; and we have the same characteristics in the ages of chivalry.

Orders of
Knighthood.

Without feudalism (that is, so far as military service is concerned) chivalry could not survive, and towards the end of the fourteenth century it had exhibited unmistakable symptoms of decay. ⁽¹⁾ It had given birth to the religious orders, such as the Templars, Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, the Teutonic Knights, besides many others. From it also sprung the courtly orders which were instituted by sovereign princes, such as the Garter, by Edward III.; the Golden Fleece, by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy; St. Michael, by Louis XI. of France, and others—a knighthood of mere rank and parade.

Decline of
Chivalry.

“The principal causes that operated in subverting the feudal system,” says Mr. Hallam (*Middle Ages*,

⁽¹⁾ M. Guizot assigns the date of the decline of chivalry to the fourteenth century. (*Hist. de la Civilization en France*, leçon 36.)—Mr. Hallam defers it to the fifteenth century. (*Middle Ages*, vol. iii., p. 413.)—“Les Chevaliers qui se piquaient tant de fidélité, étaient-ils restés fidèles aux vœux de la chevalerie? Nous lisons que lorsque Charles VI. arma Chevaliers ses jeunes cousins d'Anjou, et qu'il voulut suivre de point en point l'ancien cérémonial, beaucoup de gens trouvèrent la chose étrange et extraordinaire.” (Michelet's *Hist. de France*, tom. iv., p. 7.)

i., ch. ii., pt. ii.), “ may be comprehended under three distinct heads :—the increasing power of the Crown, the elevation of the lower ranks, and the decay of the feudal system.”

The feudal system was destined to tincture for a long time the manners, language, and literature of Europe ; indeed, our English law-books are not yet disentangled of its trammels, and true chivalry flourished and fell with actual feudalism.

“ The knight’s bones are dust,
And his good sword rust ;
His soul is with the saints, I trust.”

CHAPTER IX.

ESCUAGE—ITS ABUSE—MORTMAIN—POSSE COMITATUS—GOVERNMENT OF COUNTIES—CONSTITUTION OF MILITIA—ASSIZE OF ARMS—STATUTE OF WINCHESTER—REPEALED BY ACT OF PHILIP AND MARY—STATUTORY ENACTMENTS.

Inconvenience
of Feudal
Armies.

It is clear that if the whole of the feudal tenants, knights and men-at-arms (which those who held of the Crown were bound to furnish), had been embodied as soldiers at any given moment, the sum of knights' fees being fairly taken, the king would have had at his absolute command, and free of all expenses for forty days, an army of more than 60,000 men. The object of the limitation to so few days' service, was probably to bring martial duties within the scope of the smaller gentry, so as not to press too heavily on their means. But the result must have been that the period of gratuitous service was totally inadequate for the operations of a campaign. If the king's quarrel were at home, and a single battle could decide it, he had cheap materials at hand; but he could scarcely undertake the siege of a fortress—and walls were formidable obstacles in those days—certainly not engage in a war out of his kingdom with an army whose period of service might expire in forty days. The only remedy in such cases was to induce the tenants

to prolong their services by a stipulated rate of daily pay; but this was not always optional to the king, nor convenient to either party. For the king often found it difficult to provide the necessary funds, and the tenants, anxious to return to their households, had the right to demand their discharge; and instances are on record where armies broke up at the expiration of their quota of service in consequence of disagreement with the sovereign.⁽¹⁾

By the feudal law, forfeiture was the penalty for the neglect of military attendance; it became, however, an agreement, a sort of mutual accommodation, that a fine should be accepted in lieu of personal service.⁽²⁾ Although this commutation had probably been practised from an early period, the first record of it appears in the 11th Henry II. (1165), when £1 per knight's fee was levied on the bishops and abbots who held *in capite* of the Crown. It was at first levied arbitrarily, but it became a system, under the term scutage or escuage, as it was called in the old Norman-French—shield-money, in fact; and it came at last to be levied by assessments at so much for every knight's fee. This royal prerogative became greatly abused, so that it formed one of the points in *Magna Charta*

(1) At the siege of Avignon, in 1226, Theobald, Count of Champagne, retired with his troops that he might not promote the king's designs upon Languedoc. At that of Angers in 1230, nearly the same thing occurred. (See Matth. Paris, p. 308.)

(2) "Et finem pro eodem servitio nobiscum facere voluerint." (*Proclam.* of Edw. III.)—See Lyttelton's *Hist. of Hen. II.*, vol. iii., p. 13; and Madox, p. 435.

that no scutage should be imposed without consent of Parliament.⁽¹⁾

Whenever, therefore, our early kings were preparing for war, they levied scutages, and those royal tenants who were bound to accompany them, but preferred staying at home, were regularly charged as matters of course, the rate varying according to circumstances, under the term of "Fines for not proceeding with the army;" ditto, "for avoiding crossing the sea with the king;" and so forth.⁽²⁾

Evasions of
Service.

Another obvious inconvenience was the process of sub-infeudation, which was carried on to almost an unlimited degree. Fractions of a fee, even to the thirtieth and the fortieth part, were not uncommon.⁽³⁾ Very many of those sub-divisions, however, arose not from sub-infeudation, but by descents among coparieners. It has been stated that, according to Norman custom, a fee could only properly be divided into eight portions.⁽⁴⁾ The eighth part of a fee would, of course, give a title to the eighth part of the service of a knight. Its tenant, consequently, came into active service for five days, which was his proportion of the stipulated service of the fee for forty days. It is easy to imagine the confusion that must have arisen when

(1) "Nullum scutagium ponitur in regno nostro, nisi per commune consilium regni nostri." (Cap. xii.)

(2) "De Scutagio Militum qui nec abierunt," &c.—"Fines pro passagio," &c. (Madox, *Hist. of the Excheq.*, pp. 438, 458.)

(3) A record of Hen. III. says of Richard Crokele, "Faciât servitium trecessimæ partis feodi j. Militis."—Also of John Hereberd, "Faciât servitium sexagesimæ partis unius feodi." (*Hist. of the Excheq.*, pp. 650, 651.)

(4) Stuart's *View of Society*, p. 103.

a feudal army took the field, from the continual change of the military tenants.

Again, another evil of the system was the facility with which tenants could evade the strict performance of their service; for instance, they could bring to the musters a force inferior to the numbers to what was due from the extent of their holdings. The rolls of knights' fees were inaccurately kept, and little care seems to have been taken before armies were summoned to the field;⁽¹⁾ it was then too late to think of examining records and charters; and the consequence was that the service had to be accepted, and was, of course, taken as a precedent for the future.⁽²⁾ Thus the king found that he could assemble but a small part only of the ancient force of the kingdom. Another expedient of the laity was to transfer their lands to the Church; thus, on the chance of ever receiving them back again, they got quit of their military service. To obviate this inconvenience, in the 7th Edward I., the Statute of Mortmain was passed. By this act it was made unlawful to give any estates to the Church without the king's leave; and this act, by a supplemental provision, was made to reach all lay-fraternities, or corporations, in the 16th of Richard I. Mortmain is such a state of

(1) A roll of Henry II. is, at all events, the only one that has come down to us—the *Liber Niger Scaccarii* (so called from its black binding).

(2) Madox, *Bar. Ang.*, p. 115.—In the 4th Edw. I., the Earl of Cornwall proffered his service for his whole barony to be done by three knights, which was accepted. "As if," says Madox, "the Earl of Cornwall's barony consisted of no more than three knights' fees!"

possession as makes it unalienable, when it is said to be *in manu mortua*.

It appears, by a comparison of ancient muster-rolls still extant with the Black Book of the Exchequer, that the knight's service owing from the *greater barons* to the Crown had diminished since the reign of Henry II. in the proportion of at least ten to one.⁽¹⁾ The clergy were the great evaders. "Several of the religious," says Madox, "found another piece of art." They declared that they held all their lands and tenements *in libera eleemosyna*, and not by knights'-service; and in many cases they successfully maintained their plea. The Bishop of Lincoln, *temp.* Henry II., owed the service of sixty knights, the Bishop of Bath and Wells that of twenty (*Lib. Nig.*, 263-87); but in the reign of Edward I. the former owed only the service of five, and the latter of two.⁽²⁾ "The Abbot of St. Austin," says Madox, "had a great success in defrauding the king of his services. He had been feoffed to hold by the service of fifteen knights. Of these fifteen he found means to conceal twelve, and answered the king with three only,⁽³⁾ which were accepted in the 4th of Edward I. But crowned heads were not behind-hand in defrauding their subjects, and instances are noted where they made use of a pretended expedition that they might be entitled to levy scutage-money.⁽⁴⁾

(1) See note to Lingard's *Hist. of Eng.*, Edw. III., ch. ii.

(2) *Parl. Writs.*, i. 197, 228; quoted in Lingard.

(3) *Bar. Ang.*, pp. 109, 114.

(4) William Rufus, in 1093, levied 20,000 English footmen, and commanded them to march to the sea-side to be shipped to Normandy.

The degenerating of knight-service into escuage, however convenient to both parties, was a heavy blow to the efficacy of the feudal institution. It destroyed one of its main features—that those who held the land should defend it; and it broke up that confederacy, composed of barons, knights, gentlemen, and retainers—men bound by their oaths, as well as their interest, to defend their king and country—which composed the national militia. The Crown became better served, but the liberty of the subject was curtailed thereby; for, as long as the revenue was paid, the king could possess an army entirely at his disposal; and, in fact, the whole system of tenure was converted into little else than a means of raising money to pay an army of occasional mercenaries.

Besides the feudal troops, there was another constitutional and national force, which the sovereign had the right to call up, on the principle that whoever had taken an oath of fealty to the king, was bound to risk his life in defence of the country. This was the *Posse Comitatus*, or, as its name implies, “the power of the county.” It included every male from fifteen years of age to sixty, peers and spiritual men alone excepted. The liability of all persons to be called upon for military service, and the power given to the sheriff to call them out for exercise, in order that they might be in a condition to perform their duty, seems to have been a relic of Saxon polity;

Posse
Comitatus.

When they came there, he caused Ralph, his treasurer, to offer to them, that in order to save the nation so many men, and themselves the perils they were to run, as many of them as would, should pay ten shillings, and go home again. (Matt. Paris.)

and we may trace in this the beginning of that drafting of men to form the County Militia, which is part of the military system of this country at the present time.

Although the principal object of this institution was to preserve the peace, and to pursue felons under the command of the sheriff, the posse comitatus was also bound to attend upon summons for the military defence of the county, under pain of fine and imprisonment.⁽¹⁾

In 1205 King John called upon every tenth knight in the realm to accompany him into Poitou, at the expense of the other nine; and if during his absence the country should be invaded, *every man capable of bearing arms* was to join in its defence, under pain of forfeiting any lands he might own; and if not a landowner, of becoming, with all his posterity, a slave for ever, and paying a yearly poll-tax of fourpence.⁽²⁾ Again, when Philip of France was preparing to attack John, in 1213, the English monarch summoned all his "*liberos homines et servientes, vel quicunque sint,*" to aid him, under pain of culvertag.⁽³⁾

The posse comitatus differed from the feudal troops in this, that it was only liable to be called out in case of internal commotions or actual invasion, on which occasions only could it legally be marched out of the respective counties, and in no case out of

(1) Stat. 2 Hen. V., c. 8.—Blackstone, *Com.*, i., ch. ix., p. 343.

(2) *Pat. Rol.*, 55.

(3) *i.e.*, Turn-tail (culvert), the penalty for which was forfeiture of all property and perpetual servitude. (Matt. Paris, 196.—Rymer, iv., 687.—Du Cange, v. *Culvertagium*.)

the kingdom ;⁽¹⁾ whereas the feudal troops were subject to foreign service at the king's pleasure. But when an army was wanted, pretexts were easily invented to induce the county-force to relinquish its privilege ; and although it was afterwards provided (by the 1 Edw. III., s. 2, cc. 5 and 7 ; 25 Edw. III., s. 5, c. 8) that no man should be compelled to go out of the kingdom at any rate, nor out of his shire but in cases of urgent necessity, it was always possible to assert that the emergency had arrived.

The government of our English counties presents a curious mixture of the administrative systems of the Saxons and the Normans. Thus, in Saxon England, the shire (a Saxon word, signifying a district or division) was presided over—in the early period, at least, of the limited monarchy—by the shire-reeve (sheriff), and the county by its earldorman. In Norman England the count (from the Latin *comes*) was at the head of the county (*comitatus*). Ealdorman⁽²⁾—*quasi* “elder man,” signifying the same as *senior* or *senator* among the Romans—was the highest rank after the Royal Family, to which that functionary sometimes belonged. Subsequently, when the whole country was subjected to the domination of one sovereign—which

Government of
Counties.

(1) “Item le Roy voet deormes nul soit charge de soi armer, autrement quil ne soleit en temps de ces auncestres Roys d'Engleterre. Et que nul soient distreintz daler hors de leur countez, si non par cause de necessite de sodeyne venue des estraunges enemys en roialme et adonques soit fait come ad este fait avant ces heures par defens du roialme.” (Stat. 1 Edw. III., cap. 5.)

(2) This name is not applied in written documents to magistrates of boroughs before the Conquest ; after that, the title seems to have become appropriated to municipal magistrates. (See Palgrave, ii. 350.)

it was, under Edward the Elder, in the first quarter of the tenth century—it became the custom to entrust the great provinces of the kingdom to the administration of a single earl, or great man, who then, of course, overrode the supremacy of the alderman. In the time of Edward the Confessor the whole kingdom seems to have been divided among five earls, three of whom were Godwin and his sons Harold and Tostig.⁽¹⁾

The word “earl” (*eorl*) means originally a man of noble birth, as opposed to the “churl” (*ceorl*). This distinction of these two orders, according to Mr. Hallam, corresponds to the phrase “gentle and simple” of later times.⁽²⁾ Mr. Kemble, in his *Glossary to Beowulf*, explains “earl” by *vir fortis, pugil vir*, and says that it was not a title of rank, but a distinctive appellation, the same as that of *comites*, who, according to Tacitus (*De Moribus Germ.*, s. 13), especially attached themselves to any distinguished chief. The ealdorman was a prince, a governor of a county; he was a constitutional officer: the earl was not an officer at all, though afterwards the government of counties came to be entrusted to him. It was not a title of office till the eleventh century, when it was used as synonymous to alderman, as a governor of a county or province. After the Conquest, it superseded altogether the more ancient title.⁽³⁾ These officers were then for some time styled counts or countees, from

⁽¹⁾ Hallam's *Middle Ages*, ii., ch. viii., pt. i., p. 271.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, No. iii., p. 356.—The *ceorl* was a free man, and not of the lowest degree.

⁽³⁾ Selden's *Titles of Honour*, v. iii., p. 638, edit. Wilkins.

the French, but they did not long retain that name, although their shires were from thence called counties to this day. As these counts or earls were frequently military commanders, or held other high offices in the councils of the sovereign, they were necessarily much absent from their counties; they had, therefore, their *vice-comes* (viscount),⁽¹⁾ which office has always been Englished by the old Saxon name of sheriff. As this officer in turn required a deputy, he was distinguished as the high sheriff, and his deputy was termed the under-sheriff. It is plain, however, that the Latin *vice-comes*, though constantly used as an equivalent, does not properly express the meaning of our English word sheriff. When the counts or earls disappeared, the sheriff became, although styled *vice-comes*, the head man of the county. This power was continued to the sheriff until the appointment of lord-lieutenants, in the reign of Philip and Mary, to whom it was transferred—so far as regarded purely military duty. Since then it has been in the province of the lieutenants to organise and be responsible for the efficiency of the county militia, although it is still in the power of the sheriff to summon all the freeholders he may need to assist him in the execution of his more restricted duty—that of enforcing the orders and sentences of the civil courts.

(¹) The name of *vice-comes*, or viscount, was afterwards made use of as an arbitrary title of honour, without any shadow of office pertaining to it, by Henry VI., when in the eighteenth year of his reign (1440) he created John Beaumont a peer by the name of Viscount Beaumont, which was the first instance of the kind. (Blackstone, *Com.*, v. i., b. ii., p. 398.)

The multitude of men liable to be called upon by the sheriff, who otherwise would have been but an undisciplined rabble, was constituted an armed force by an act of the 27th Henry II. (A.D. 1181), called "An Assize of Arms," subsequently confirmed and enlarged by the 13th Edward I. (A.D. 1285).

Assize of Arms.

By this act, every man, according to his estate and degree, was obliged to provide a determinate quantity of such arms and armour as were then in use; constables were appointed in all hundreds to see that such arms were provided;⁽¹⁾ and proper persons were empowered at stated periods to muster, arm, and exercise the inhabitants of the district.

Every tenant of a knight's fee was to have in his possession a coat of mail (*loricam*), a helmet (*cassidem*), a shield, and a lance; and as many of these as he had fees.

Every free layman that had in chattels (*in catallo*) or rents to the value of sixteen marks, was to have the same arms as above; and such as had ten marks, a haubergeon (*halbergellum*), an iron cap (*capelet ferri*), and a lance. These two last articles, with a wambais, were assigned for the arms of all burgesses, and the whole community of freemen.

None obliged to have these arms could either sell, pawn, or part with them out of his custody; nor could a lord take them from his vassal by forfeiture, gift, as security, or in any other manner. When the possessor died, they descended to his heir; and if this heir was a minor, his guardian was to have the custody

(¹) Blackstone's *Com.*, b. i., ch. xiii.

of them—and till the heir came of age, he was to find a man to use them in the king's service. No Jew was to have in his possession a coat-of-mail or haubergeon, but must sell or give it away, or in some other manner dispose of it, so that it shall remain in the king's service. Nor should any man carry arms out of the kingdom, nor sell them abroad, unless by permission of our lord the king. Juries were to be empannelled in the hundreds and boroughs of every county to assess the properties of those who were to serve; and the king's justices, in their circuits,⁽¹⁾ were required to enrol the names of the jurors, and of those who should be found to have chattels or rents to the value above mentioned; and the justices were enjoined to cause it to be notified that those who had not these arms as aforesaid the king would punish corporeally in their limbs, and not in their goods or lands; and none but freemen were to be allowed to take the oath of arms.⁽²⁾

In the 36th of Henry III. (1252) there was another Assize of Arms; and in 1285 was passed the "Statute of Winchester" (so called because it was enacted in that city, in the 13th Edward I.), making some alteration in the property qualification, and in the number and description of the weapons with which each person was bound to provide himself, but not materially differing from the other acts.

(¹) "Item justitiæ faciant dici per omnes comitatus per quos ituræ sunt."

(²) This statute is given in Rymer, *sub. anno*. The statute of Winchester is in the *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. i., p. 96.

Statute of
Winchester.

This last act provided "that every man should have in his house harness for to keep the peace after the ancient assize. That is to say, every man between fifteen years of age and sixty, shall be assessed and sworn to armour according to the quantity of his lands and goods: to wit, from £15 in land, and goods 40 marks (£26 13s. 4d.), shall keep a hauberk of iron, a sword, a knife, and a horse; from £10 of land, and 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.) in goods, the same as the preceding class, the horse excepted;⁽¹⁾ from 40s. to 100s. of land, a sword, bow and arrows, and a knife. He that hath less than 40s. yearly, gisarmes,⁽²⁾ knives, and other less weapons; and all others that may, shall have bows and arrows out of the forest, and in forest, bows and bolts.⁽³⁾ An inspection of these arms was to be made twice a year, by two constables chosen from each hundred, who were to report defaulters to the justices, and these were to present such defaulters to

(1) It is remarkable that the lance and the bow should be omitted in both these cases.

(2) "A bill or battle-axe, with a spike rising at the back of it." (Halliwell's *Dict. of Archaic Words*.)—It was evidently considered one of the inferior arms, as described in the original from which the above is taken: "E qe meins ad de quaraunte souze de t're seit jure a faus, *gisarmes*, cotaus, e *autres menues armes*."—The Statute of Arms of King William of Scotland, A.D. 1165, enacts, "Et qui minus habet quam xl solidos, habeat *gysarm*, quod dicitur hand-axe."

(3) "Arcs e setes hors de forestes, e dedenz forestes arcs e piles." This difference, within and without the forests, is curious. It had for its object, we may presume, the prevention of poaching the king's deer. The word pile, probably from the Latin *pila*, a ball, implied a round-headed arrow, in contradistinction to the sharp-pointed one. "His foresters shall not carry in the wood of the aforesaid Roger de Somery any barbed, but piled arrows." (Blount's *Tenures*, p. 237.)

the king in Parliament, "and the king shall provide remedy therein."⁽¹⁾

Another Statute of Arms was passed (27th Edward I., 1298), making some further alterations, and an important one in the fact of requiring, for the first time in England, that armed or barded horses should be provided in the levies:—

"De assidendo homines ad arma, et deligendo homines pedites."

"Le Rey ad ordene qe sire Thomas de Furnivall voit en les contees de Notingham et de Derby, de eslire, trier, ordener et asseer gentz d'armes en meismes les contez, ausi bien a chival come a pie, de toutz ceus qui sont de age d'entre vint anns e seissaunte: ensi qe chescun qe eyt xxx. liverees de terre, seit mis a un *chival covert*, e de seissaunte liverees, a deus *chivaux covertz*, e se vers mount de chescune xxx. liverees de terre, a un *chival covert*. E s'il eit plus avant qe xxx. liveree de terre e ne mie seisaunte, qe en ceo qe il avera entre les xxx. livereez, seit joint e mis a un autre qe serra de meisme la condicion," &c.

"Don' a Noef Chastel sur Tyne, le xxv. jour de Novembre."⁽²⁾

These statutes were repealed, or part of them, by the 4th and 5th of Philip and Mary, and the weapons were changed for others of more modern service.

Statute of
Philip and
Mary.

By this later act it was provided that all temporal

⁽¹⁾ This statute was only repealed by the 21st Jas. I., c. 128, in 1623.

⁽²⁾ *Pat.*, 27 Edw. I., m. 40.—Rymer, vol. i., pt. ii., p. 901.

persons having estate of a thousand pounds or upwards, should, from the 1st of May, 1558, keep six horses or geldings able for demi-lances, three of them at least to have sufficient harness, steel saddles,⁽¹⁾ and weapons requisite for the said demi-lances; and ten light horses or geldings able for light horsemen; also forty *corselets* (*sic*) furnished,⁽²⁾ forty almaine rivetts,⁽³⁾ or forty coats of plate⁽⁴⁾ corselets or brigandines⁽⁵⁾ furnished; forty pikes, thirty long-bows, thirty sheaves of arrows,⁽⁶⁾ thirty steel caps or skulls, twenty black-bills⁽⁷⁾ or halberts, twenty haquebuts,⁽⁸⁾

(1) The bows covered with steel.

(2) *i.e.*, Complete. The corselet was a species of armour chiefly worn by pikemen, who were thence often denominated corselets; strictly speaking, the corselet meant only that part which covered the body, but was generally used to express the whole suit, under the term of a corselet furnished or complete.

(3) Probably armour made flexible by means of rivets, invented in or imported from Germany.

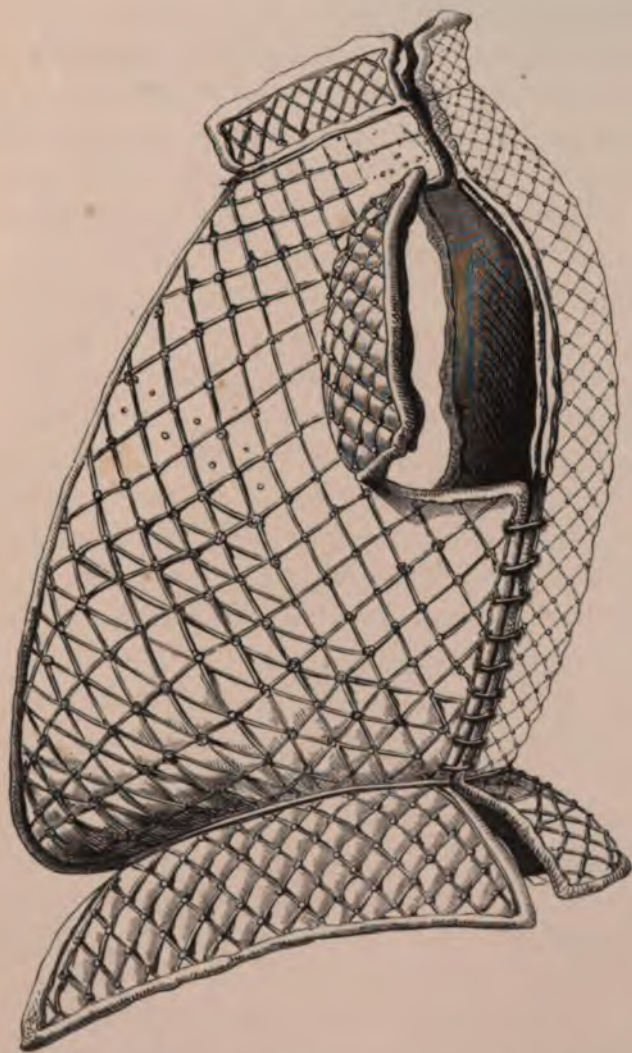
(4) Made of thin plates of iron.

(5) The name is derived from the troops by whom they were first worn; who were a kind of light-armed, irregular foot, frequently mentioned by Froissart, and by their extreme poverty much addicted to plunder, which eventually made their name synonymous with marauder. The brigandine was composed of a number of small plates of iron, sewed upon quilted linen or leather through a small hole in the centre of each plate, their edges laid over each other like tiles. These scales were often covered over with leather or cloth, so as to have the appearance of common coats. (See Plate XXXV. Brigandine preserved at Warwick Castle. A very perfect specimen, even to the lacings and the padding necessary to keep out the part overhanging the waist. Brigandines were generally worn by archers, but Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, was painted by Zuccherò in this fashion, A.D. 1560. This portrait is at Parham.)

(6) A sheaf contained twenty-four arrows.

(7) A species of halbert, not commonly kept bright, whence they were called black or sometimes brown bills.

(8) A hand-gun, called haque or hook-but, from its stock being hooked or bent.



Brigandine Jacket, preserved in Warwick Castle, and now set up in the Hall. This specimen is most perfect, even to the lacings, and the padding necessary to keep out the part overhanging the waist. It was generally worn by archers; but Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, was painted by Zuccherò in this fashion (*see* Leicester figure, pl. 43, vol. ii.). A.D. 1560.

and twenty morians ⁽¹⁾ or sallets. Then follows a classification of persons whose incomes ranging from "1,000 marks and upwards, and under the clear yearly value of £1,000," were charged rateably for the maintenance of ten horses and a proportionate amount of armour, down to the humble possessor of "goods to the amount of £10, and above or under £20," who was bound only to furnish "one long bowe, one sheaf of arrows, a steel cap or skull, and one black-bill or halbert."

This act, while it repealed the former statutes, confirmed the provisions of the 33rd Henry VIII. c. 5, entitled, "The Bill for Great Horses," which is sufficiently curious to deserve extracting. It set forth, that nobles and other subjects of this realm, having parks, should keep mares and find stallions for breed and increase of horses for defence of the realm and all and any other person temporal not afore-mentioned (certain dignitaries are excepted) whose wife—not being divorced nor willingly absenting herself—shall wear any gown of silk, or whose wife shall wear any French hood or bonnet of velvet, with any habiliment past or egge ⁽²⁾ of gold, pearl or stone, or any chain of gold about her neck or in their partletts, or in any apparel of their body, shall keep

(1) An open helmet without visor or beaver, worn by the arquebusiers and musketeers. Guillim says it took its name from being commonly worn by the Moors.

(2) The meaning of these terms has been frequently discussed, but no satisfactory explanation of them has been given. The object of this sumptuary law was, of course, to restrain extravagance in apparel, as well as to tax those who could afford luxuries.

or sustain one stoned trotting-horse for the saddle; and if the wife of any person (except as before) wear any velvet in the lining or other part of her gown other than in the cuffs or purfels of such gown, then her husband shall find one stoned trotting-horse of the stature aforesaid, to wit, in height xiiij handfuls, reckoning to every handful four inches, to be measured from the nether part of the hair of the hough unto the upper part of the wydersomes,⁽¹⁾ that is to say, the upper part of the shoulder.

Commissioners of Musters were to view arms and armour, and the inhabitants of cities, boroughs, &c., other than such as are specially charged before in this act, were directed to keep and maintain at their common charges such harness and weapons as shall be appointed by the commissioners of the king and queen, to be kept in such places as the said commissioners shall appoint.

“Any souldier selling horse, harness, and weapons, or any of them, contrary to the statute 2 and 3 Edward VI., shall incur the penalties of the said statute, and such sale shall be void, the person knowing him to be a souldier.”

The servants of such persons as are bound to find haquebuts, might exercise themselves in shooting at such marks as are limited and appointed by the 33rd Henry VIII. (which see in cross-bows), so that they do not use such haquebuts in any highway, unless it be coming or going to or from any musters, or marching towards or from the service or defence of

⁽¹⁾ Withers.—Compare 27th Hen. VIII., cap. 6.

the realm. The Lord Chancellor, or the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, may from time to time, by virtue of the King's commission, appoint commissioners in any city, borough, &c., as well in England as in Wales, consisting of justices, with other persons joined with them, as he shall think meet, to take a view of armour, and to assign what harness, &c., shall be kept.

These statutory enactments for the security and defence of the kingdom superseded the necessity of a standing army, and were free, perhaps, from some of its inconveniences. The theory of this system was admirable. The male population, armed for the defence of the native soil, seems the natural strength and protection of a country; and the power of the sovereign depending on the loyalty of his subjects, would appear to be, on slight observation, the true basis on which an army of free citizens should be formed. But it was this very feeling of dependence on the part of the sovereigns that induced them to engage mercenaries in their service, for they found that they could possess no real power without them. Moreover, the perpetual defence of the marches or borders of the kingdom, next to the then hostile populations of Scotland and Wales, and the supply of foreign garrisons and castle-guards at home, made an absolute requirement for a more continuous service than the temporary one provided by the feudal levies.

CHAPTER X.

FOREIGN MERCENARIES EMPLOYED BY OUR EARLY KINGS—MAGNA CHARTA
—MODE OF LEVYING TROOPS BY EDWARD II.—BY EDWARD III.—
INDENTURES—EFFECTS OF WARS UPON POPULATION—MILITARY PRO-
FESSION PROFITABLE—FACILITY OF RAISING ARMIES—BISHOP OF
NORWICH AND THE URBANISTS AND CLEMENTINES.

Mercenary
Troops. ALL our kings, from William I. to Edward II., con-
tinually employed mercenaries. The Conqueror not
only imported foreigners—

“De par tut manda soldéiers”⁽¹⁾—*Rom. de Rou.*

but, as a counterpoise to the factious Normans, he
armed one nationality against the other, and main-
tained bodies of English soldiers in his pay.⁽²⁾ The

⁽¹⁾ The words soldier, stipendiary, and mercenary, all conveying a different signification, are etymologically identical. Soldier is derived from *solde*, pay; or souldier, as it was anciently written, from *soudoyer*, to keep in pay. Stipendiary from *stipendium*, and mercenary from *merces*, wages or hire. Custom, perhaps, made the difference the first signifying the native constitutional military; stipendiary, troops raised by pay at home; mercenaries, soldiers hired abroad. The preface to the 11th vol. of *Recueil des Historiens*, p. 232, notices the word *solidarii*, for hired soldiers, as early as 1030. (*Vide* note to Hallam's *Middle Ages*, i., ch. ii.)—“Souldiers,” says a Dutch author, “take their name from the Dutch word *soldye*, which signifies pay or stipend; profit being one of the ends why men undertake the military profession, and honour not the only (though the chiefest) of their aims.” (*Militarie Instruction for the Cavalerie, according to the Moderne Warrs*. Transl. A.D. 1632.)

⁽²⁾ “Rex stipendarios milites suos Anglos congregat.” (Matt. Paris, p. 12.)

practice of hiring foreigners became a growing evil, naturally much disliked by the country generally; so that when at length the subjects obtained the power of dictating to the sovereign, it formed one of the exactions of Magna Charta that "as soon as peace was restored, the king should send out of the kingdom all foreign soldiers, cross-bowmen, and stipendiaries, who are come with horses and arms to the prejudice of the people." (Clause 51.)

The reign of Edward II. is an important one in the military annals of this country. It was a transition period, when the feudal tenures began to lose their efficacy; for a new mode of raising the forces was started, which rapidly deprived the baronage of its feudal character, and caused a radical change in the constitution. In the 4th Edward II. one foot-soldier was *requested* from each township, as a voluntary aid; but in the 9th a grant was made in the Parliament held at Lincoln, by which one foot-soldier was charged upon every township throughout the kingdom, without any distinction of tenure,⁽¹⁾ cities, boroughs, and royal demesnes only excepted: a township where a market was held might be charged with even a greater number of men. This was granted by the "magnates" and "communitas" of the kingdom, under pressure of the war against the Scots. One able-bodied soldier was to be arrayed in aketon and bacinet, and armed with sword, bow and

(1) "Que chescune ville du dit Royaume lui trouve un hōme de pe forceble et defensible." (*Pat. Rot.*, 9 Edw. II.)—See Palgrave's *Parl. Writs*, ii. 170.

arrows, slings, lances, and other arms fit for foot-soldiers. The inhabitants of the townships were to provide such arms, and also to pay the wages of the soldier, until he should be marched to the place of muster, and from thence for sixty days more—to wit, at the rate of fourpence per diem; and the king agreed to grant his letters patent, for himself and his heirs, that such grant should not be drawn into a precedent for the future.

Troops supplied by
Indenture.

Edward III.'s armies were emphatically national; for he initiated a custom of contracting—or indenting, as it was legally termed—with individuals to furnish soldiers for the Crown at certain wages, and upon certain conditions; and he appears to have contracted only with his subjects.⁽¹⁾ The contracting parties were usually persons of influence, such as bishops and barons; and this mode of raising troops approached so far our modern means of recruiting our armies that men were native-born, hired to fight, and not obliged to serve. Instances of such indentures with the king's subjects, which were not common before this period, are preserved in our national records.

In Dugdale's *Baronage* there are many instances of pecuniary considerations for supplying armed men entered into between king and subject. As a proof of the power exercised by the king and

(1) There are instances of indentures of foreign military service much earlier than this. Among the Cottonian charters (*Cart. Antig.*, Cotton., xxix. 65) there is a short deed of agreement, in old French, of Adam de Gesomue with Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward I., in 1270, to go with him to the Holy Land, and remain with him one year, the prince giving him for the service of himself and suite 600 marks. (*Vide* note to Ellis's *Orig. Letters*, 2 S., vol. i., p. 98.)

council over the liberties and property of a subject, Sir Hugh Ansley had engaged to serve in Henry V.'s army in France; but having remained in England, he was brought before the council, committed to the Fleet Prison, and his lands were seized into the king's hands. The case is printed in Nicolas' *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, ii. 102.

The army which Edward III. led over to France, previous to the battle of Crecy, was composed of English, Welsh, and Irish.⁽¹⁾ This is what Froissart calls *purs Anglais*, when the forces were raised within

(¹) A manuscript muster-roll of this famous army, when afterwards laying siege to Calais, is preserved, and is further valuable as giving not only the numbers, but also the pay of the different ranks:—

The prince received	per diem	£1	0	0
Bishop of Durham	"	0	6	8
13 earls, each	"	0	6	8
44 barons and bannerets	"	0	4	0
1,046 knights	"	0	2	0
4,022 esquires, constables, captains, and leaders (<i>constabularii, centenarii et ductores</i>)	"	0	1	0
5,104 vintenars and archers on horse- back	"	0	0	6
335 paunceners (Brady says, "they were most strangers, but what otherwise I know not"), 15,480 foot archers	"	0	0	3
314 masons, carpenters, smiths, engi- neers, tent-makers, armourers, gunners, and artillerymen, at 12d., 10d., 6d., and	"	0	0	3
4,474 Welsh foot, of whom 200 vintenars at	"	0	0	4
The rest at	"	0	0	2

The whole number of the army was, besides the lords, 31,294. Masters, captains, mariners, and boys, for 700 ships, barges, balingers, and victuallers, 16,000. (Brady, vol. ii., p. 87, App.; edit. 1700.—*Ex Rotulo quodam penes Arth. Agard*, Thes. in Novo Palatio, Westm.) (The original, stated to be in Latin, is not found in the Record Office.)

the realm;⁽¹⁾ "Anglais" and "Français" being then often used as generic terms to denote all those, of whatever country, who fought under the English or French banners.⁽²⁾ "There were very few strangers," he says; "only Sir Oulphant de Guestelles, from the country of Hainault, and five or six knights from Germany, whose names I have forgotten." There might be about 4,000 men-at-arms, and 10,000 archers, not including the Irish and Welsh, who followed the army on foot.⁽³⁾ As this army consisted of upwards of 30,000 men, it follows that there was a large proportion of Irish and Welsh.⁽⁴⁾

But King Edward on this occasion did not only make use of hired troops; he thought it requisite, on account of the importance of the occasion, to put forth all the powers of the Crown. He summoned every man-at-arms in the kingdom, if in good health, to attend personally, otherwise to send a substitute; and all men who held lands of the yearly value of £5, or upwards, were ordered to furnish men-at-arms, hobilers, and archers, in proportion to their income. Non-compliance was punishable with forfeiture and imprisonment.⁽⁵⁾ This was a little less than what was termed in France a *levée en masse*. These levies

(1) Froissart pays the English a compliment in saying that Philip von Arteveldt, the Fleming, was "*pur Anglois de courage*." (ii. 216.)

(2) "Quand ils perçurent la bannière du connétable issir hors, et les Bretons aussi, ils connurent tantôt qu'il y avoit trahison de leurs pillarts, et qu'ils s'étoient tournés François." (Froissart, i. 664.)

(3) Johnes, vol. i., ch. exx., p. 151.—Buchon, i., p. 217.

(4) The "Welsh foot" we have seen given at 4,474 in the muster-roll.

(5) *Rot. Parl.*, ii. 160, 170.—Rymer, *sub an.* 1346.

were so irksome, that great complaints arose, and the Parliament frequently remonstrated. The king urged the necessity of extraordinary action to meet the emergency; and the measures by which he endeavoured to supply his wants ultimately proved a benefit to the subject, by provoking that resistance which confined the prerogative of the Crown in more moderate limits: and at length he gave his consent to a statute that "none shall be constrained to find men-at-arms, hobilers, or archers, other than those who held by such services, if it be not by common assent and grant made in Parliament"⁽¹⁾—a statutory recognition of the illegality of forced levies not warranted by the constitution. But Edward generally found means to evade it, on the plea of necessity; and the Commons were compelled to be content with a promise that the past should not be drawn into a precedent for the future; and several of our sovereigns, in the face of this prohibitory act, obliged districts, towns, corporations, and even individuals, under the authority of the royal prerogative, to find men, horses, and arms, or to pay contributions for that purpose—not always according to any regular proportions or assessment, but allotted solely at his will and pleasure. This arbitrary proceeding continued up to the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, when

⁽¹⁾ 25 Edw. III., A.D. 1351-2, stat. v., cap. 8. "Que nul hoīe soit arte de trover gentz d'armes, hobelours, ne archers, autres qī ceux qī teignent per tiels servicez, s'il ne soit per cōmūn assent et grante en Parlement."

it was frequently practised. A curious abstract of the different sovereigns who have exercised this prerogative was drawn up by Sir Robert Cotton, apparently by command of James I., and is preserved in the library which bears his name. (*Julius*, fol. 6. —See also Grose, *Mil. Antiq.*, i., p. 71.)

In 1359 Edward III. landed at Calais with a great army, which Froissart says was the most numerous and the best organised that ever left England. He found a host of foreigners, of high and low degree, awaiting his arrival; German mercenaries, who had equipped themselves at great private expense, in hopes of joining the army of the popular commander, and anticipating great gains by the pillage of fertile France. ⁽¹⁾ Edward, however, declined taking them into his service, alleging that he brought over a sufficiency of his own subjects for his requirements; but if they chose to serve with his army, without pay, they were at liberty to do so, and they would participate largely in all gains of war.

Cost of
Wars.

It does not require much imagination to realise at what a cost of human life, and at what a sacrifice of domestic industry, these continual drains upon the scanty population of England must have been effected. The reigns of our Edwards have been justly celebrated as the most glorious in our annals; but during a period wherein there were scarcely ten years of peace, the splendid victories abroad must have been

(1) "Ainsi attendoient tous ces seigneurs allemands miessenaires, Hesbegnons, Brabançons, Flamands et Hainuyers, povres et riches, la venue du roi d'Angleterre." (Froissart, i. 414.)

attended with a vast amount of suffering at home, and the acquisition of foreign territory could not have compensated for the loss of inhabitants in England. There was another great cause which militated against the progression of population in Edward III.'s time, if not in that of the others—pestilence went hand in hand with war.⁽¹⁾

In 1349 the Legislature took cognisance of the paucity of inhabitants, and the *Statute of Labourers* was passed. It recited in the preamble, "that whereas a great part of the people, and especially of workmen and servants, late died of the pestilence, many, seeing the necessity of masters and great scarcity of servants, will not serve unless they receive excessive wages, some being rather willing to beg in idleness than by labour to get their living," &c. "The grievous incommodities which of the lack, especially of ploughmen and such labourers," were endeavoured to be obviated by a variety of enactments, which sufficiently prove to what a deplorable state of slavery the collective mass of the people was reduced. "Every able-bodied person under sixty years of age, not having sufficient to live on, being required, shall be bound to serve him that doth require him, or else shall be committed to gaol till he finds security to serve. If a servant or workman depart from service before the time agreed upon, he shall be imprisoned. If

Statute of
Labourers.

(1) "There were no fewer than one-and-twenty dearths and famines from 1069 to 1355. See a collection of the most remarkable dearths and famines, published by Edward Hoare in 1631." (Notes to Chalmers' *Estimate of Great Britain*, 1810, p. 8.)

any artificer take more wages than were wont to be paid, he shall be committed to gaol." And by the 34th Edward III., "If any labourer or servant flee to any town, the chief officer shall deliver him up; and if they depart to another county, they shall be burnt in the forehead with the letter F."

Population. The population recorded in Domesday-book is about 283,000; which, in round numbers, allowing for women and children, may be called about a million.⁽¹⁾ Towards the end of Edward III.'s reign, about 300 years afterwards, the inhabitants of England and Wales are estimated at under two millions and a half.⁽²⁾ This calculation is founded on a subsidy-roll still in existence. In 1377 (51 Edward III.) a poll-tax of fourpence was imposed on every lay person, as well male as female, of fourteen years and upwards, real mendicants only excepted. Having as data the number of those who paid the tax, and by ascertaining the proportion that persons *under* fourteen years bear to a population (and it appears that they are a good deal fewer than *one-third* of the co-existing lives), and adding the number of the clergy, we arrive at the approximate amount of inhabitants. The counties of Cheshire and Durham, being privileged to have their own receivers, are not included in this roll; but allowing half as many again for omissions to the number of those recorded to have paid the tax, the product is 2,353,203 souls; that is (supposing this

(¹) Ellis's *Introduction to Domesday*, ii. 511.

(²) Chambers's *Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain*.—See also Notes to Hallam's *Cons. Hist.*, i. 8.

calculation to be correct), England and Wales together, at the demise of Edward III., contained a smaller population than is at present comprised by London alone. ⁽¹⁾

The reflection is at least a curious one, as to what state we should now have arrived, had it not been for the diminishing processes of wars, tumults, and famines.

The profession of a soldier was by no means an unprofitable one at this period. The Parliament attempted the impracticable scheme of interfering with the price of labour after the pestilence. A reaper in the first week of August was not allowed above twopence a day; in the second week, a third more. A master carpenter was limited throughout the whole year to threepence a day, a common journeyman to twopence—money of that age; whereas the daily pay of a common foot-soldier was ordinarily sixpence. ⁽²⁾ Money was then at least ten times its present value. This, with the contingent allowance of “regards,” plunder, and the ransom of prisoners, made campaigning lucrative, and was no doubt a great attraction to that innumerable corps of “rascalles” that followed in the wake of every army.

Rates of
Pay.

⁽¹⁾ A copy of the subsidy-roll is given, with some observations, by Mr. Topham, in *Archæol.*, vol. vii., p. 337. The calculations founded on it, will be found in Chambers' *Estimate of Great Britain* (1810), pp. 12—14.

⁽²⁾ Dugdale's *Bar.*, i. 784, 4 Edw. III.—The Earl of Lancaster “took for himself eight shillings per diem, for every banneret four shillings, for every knight two shillings, every esquire twelve pence, and every archer six pence.” In Edward III.'s Calais army list, the foot-archers received 3d. per diem, and the meanest of the Welsh foot, 2d. only; still the instances of the higher pay are frequent.

The rapidity with which armies could be raised in the time of scanty population is a proof of the popularity of campaigning. Moreover, archers and other foot-soldiers who had served in the wars, were, on their return home, unwilling to sit down in the humble station of bondmen to their former lords.

Bishop of Nor-
wich and
"Anti-popes"
War.

A curious instance of an army being raised and commanded by an individual—who, in this case, was a dignitary of the Church—occurred in the sixth year of Richard II. (A.D. 1382), when Henry Spenser, the warlike Bishop of Norwich—whom Archbishop Parker described to have been "*militiæ quam theologiæ peritior*"—raised an army,⁽¹⁾ with the sanction of the king, to fight against the Clementines—that is, all those who supported the pretensions of Clement to be Pope: for, on the death of Gregory XI., in 1378, there were two Popes elected—one by the French party (who wished to have the Papal See retained at Avignon), who took the name of Clement VII.; the other, styled Urban VI., by the Italians and others, who desired to restore the seat of the Papacy to Rome. All the nations of Christendom, according to their interests or inclinations, were divided between these two

(1) However discreditable to the precision of historians, it is often amusing to compare the conflicting accounts of authors. For instance, in giving the number of men employed in this expedition, Froissart says they were, "on the whole, about 500 lances and 1,500 other men" (Johnes, i., ch. cxxxii., p. 757).—Buchon, "*Environ six cens lances et quinze cens d'autres gens*" (tome ii., p. 267).—Kennett, "15,000 foot and 2,000 horse."—Hume, "Near 60,000 bigots."—Grose, "2,500 men-at-arms and 2,500 archers."—Baker (*Chron.*, p. 153), "3,000 horse and 15,000 foot."

pontiffs. The Court of France declared, of course, for Clement, and was followed by its allies, the Kings of Castile and Scotland. England, naturally, was thrown into the other party, and pronounced for Urban. Thus the appellations of *Clementines* and *Urbanists* distracted Europe for several years. This was called "the war of the anti-popes." Urban sent over to England a hecatomb of bulls, offering indulgences to those who would take an active part in his cause; so that the Bishop of Norwich was justified in the warlike view he took of it, and which, moreover, seems to have suited his natural inclination. His proceedings at the head of his army are so characteristic of the man and of the times, that they will well repay perusal in the pages of Froissart: a very short epitome will give an insight into the facts as related by that chronicler. It appears that the bishop had no difficulty in collecting his army, on account of his personal popularity and the holiness of the cause. Having taken leave of the king, they departed, *viâ* Sandwich, for Calais, where they were to wait (by the king's orders) one month, for the arrival of Sir William Beauchamp, an officer of experience appointed by the king to take the command of the army as marshal, he being then occupied in a diplomatic capacity in Scotland. They arrived at Calais on the 23rd of April, 1383; and by the 4th of May, the bishop could bear the state of inactivity no longer. He was young and wilful, and had already broken a lance on the plains of Lombardy; and he declared that the king had forgotten them, and that

the army must be prepared to take the field in three days. He was determined to fight some one; and as it was not convenient to attack the dominions of France with his small force, he announced his intention of leading them against Flanders, although it was pointed out to him, in remonstrance, that the Count of Flanders and all his people were as staunch Urbanists as they were, and that they (the English) were under an engagement to attack Clementines only. But the bishop was not to be disappointed, and so, when the morning came, the trumpet sounded, and off they marched to Gravelines, in number about 3,000 "*têtes armées*." The tide was out, and so they rode to the entrance of the port, and thus effected an entrance. They afterwards attacked and pillaged a church, and killed a great many men, women, and children, who had taken refuge there; and they succeeded in making themselves masters of the town, where they found themselves in very pleasant quarters. By this time the whole country began to be aroused—no one more so than the Earl of Flanders himself, who forthwith dispatched a deputation to wait upon the bishop to ask an explanation of the cause of this extraordinary irruption into his territory, without notice or any previous defiance; and should the reply not be satisfactory, the ambassadors were instructed to apply for passports for England, that they might lay the matter before the king. The bishop dismissed them summarily, telling them that they might return to their master if they pleased, but as for passports for England, they should not

have them; and, on the same day, he led the army to Dunkirk, where he heard there were "upwards of 12,000 men armed." Some of his principal officers ventured again a remonstrance. "We do not make war like gallant men," said they, "but like robbers. The whole country where we are is Urbanist, like ourselves. What just cause have we for attacking them?" "How do we know that they are Urbanists?" answered the bishop. "In God's name," said Sir Hugh Calverley, "let us send a herald and ascertain." So a herald was sent forward, in his proper coat-of-arms, but, by misadventure, he was killed by the country people in ignorance, before the gentlemen could save him. The bishop, of course, was delighted. Now was a good and sufficient *casus belli*. The English went at the town tooth and nail, and it was carried with great slaughter of the Dunkirkers; ⁽¹⁾ the English lost at least 400. Success continued to attend the English arms, and under the command of the bishop they made themselves masters of all the coast from Gravelines to Sluys, and laid siege to Ypres. The King of France (Charles VI.) thought that it was now time for him to interfere, and issued his summons throughout the kingdom for the army to assemble and meet him at Arras on the 15th of August; and a magnificent force attended him there. Froissart says that there were in this army about 350,000 horses. ⁽²⁾ When the bishop and the rest heard of this imposing force that

⁽¹⁾ Froissart says full 9,000 Flemings were killed. (ii. 273.)

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

was marching against them, they directly broke up the siege and "decamped."⁽¹⁾ The French pursued, and took Cassel by storm, putting all the English to death; and Sir Hugh Calverley and 3,000 men with him were besieged at Bergues; the Bishop of Norwich, however, was not there, he having retired to Grave-lines, to be nearer to Calais, should there be occasion to embark in a hurry. Calverley and his men made an escapade from Bergues; Bourbourg was surrendered; peace was made very shortly afterwards, and the English retired to Calais, where the bishop was sorely found fault with for having so badly employed the Pope's money; and awaiting a favourable wind they sailed to England, where it may be supposed that their reception was none of the warmest. Some of the commanders in the expedition were fined and imprisoned; the bishop was fined and disgraced, but was subsequently pardoned. (See his Life, by Capgrave, in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 359.)

(¹) i.e., broke up their camp.

CHAPTER XI.

HENRY V.'S ARMY RAISED BY INDENTURES—PREST MONEY—JEWELS IN
PAWN FOR PAY—HENRY VI.—ARMY RECRUITED WITH PARDONED
CRIMINALS—WELSHMEN AND CORNISHMEN—IRISHMEN—THE SCOTCH,
THEIR MODE OF WARFARE.

WHEN, in 1415, Henry V. had decided on making good his pretensions to the crown of France, or as it is expressed in one of his proclamations, "Seigneur le Roi pris avec ferme propos de faire un viage à la grace de Dieu, en sa propre personne, pour le recouvrir de son heritage,"⁽¹⁾ he made every possible exertion to raise the requisite number of men for so great an enterprise. He had not only to prepare an army of invasion, but he had also to provide for the internal safety of the realm, as it was next to certain that so soon as the king should be out of the country, the old national enemies, the Scots, would be in. So he organised a force of lancers and archers, which was deemed sufficient for the defence of the borders, and of the East and West Marches, towards Scotland; and a force of 100 lancers and 200 archers, to overawe North and South Wales, a force which, to our notions,

Henry's Army
how Raised.

⁽¹⁾ Rymer, *sub anno*.

would appear ridiculously small for the purpose ; and he also provided for the defences of the Marches of Calais 100 lances, and 300 archers for the sea. But these forces, which we may call regular and permanent for the time being, were backed up by a subsidiary local force of great amount. The king issued orders, on the 28th of May, to the Archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops, immediately to array the clergy of their respective dioceses, as well religious as secular, exempt or not exempt, according to their conditions and means, for the defence of the realm, and to certify, under their seals in Chancery, the state and number of the army, by the 16th of the ensuing month.⁽¹⁾ Commands for the same purpose were given to some of the principal knights and esquires of each county, to take a review of all the men-at-arms, and others capable of bearing arms, as well hobilers as archers, to divide them into companies of thousands, hundreds, and twenties, and to keep them in readiness for resisting an enemy.⁽²⁾

Copies of a great many indentures executed on this occasion by the king and individuals are printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, and translations of two, from the old Norman-French, are given in the appendix to Sir Harris Nicolas' *Agincourt*. Since these publications a mass of further information has been brought to bear on these points, compiled from the gradual development of the national records ; and original documents, which for centuries have lain buried, have

⁽¹⁾ Rymer, *sub anno* 1415.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*

recently been brought to light. Specimens of some of these interesting instruments have been printed by Mr. Hunter,⁽¹⁾ and they give us a wonderful insight into the military arrangements of the age.

It appears that, antecedently to the actual commencement of the campaign, there were three distinct undertakings entered into by the contracting parties, viz.—1. Indentures of military service. 2. Receipt of prest money. 3. Jewels in pawn.

The indentures of military service were agreements to serve the king abroad for one entire year, with a determinate number of able men, properly equipped, either men-at-arms and archers, or archers only, as the case might be, at a stipulated amount of pay and bounty (*gages et regards*), to be calculated according to the nature of the service and the distance of the field of action. The items of pay are specifically set down; and it will be remarked that they were apportioned according to social, and not military, position. Thus, a duke had 13s. 4d. a day; an earl, 6s. 8d.; a baron or banneret (for their pay was the same), 4s.; a knight, 2s.; a man-at-arms, 1s., and an archer, 6d. There was also the further advantage of what is mentioned as the “*regard accustumez*,” which may be termed “the ordinary fee or perquisite,” which was 100 marks per quarter for every thirty men-at-arms. Besides reciting the amount of pay, with the time and manner of payment, these indentures contain divers covenants respecting the sharing of prisoners of war, or booty that might happen to be

Indentures of
Service.

(1) *Critical and Historical Tracts*, No. 1.

taken by the contractor or his men,⁽¹⁾ ransom being then, as it has already been observed, one of the principal emoluments arising from military service. If the prisoner were a man of eminent distinction, he was to be the property of the king absolutely; but the ransom of prisoners of inferior note, or anything taken above the value of ten marks, was to be divided in thirds between the king and the captor.

1. Indentures of military service. The king covenants to pay half of the first quarter's wages in advance. This was the *prest-money*.⁽²⁾ And hereupon we are presented with a curious picture of the king's necessities, and with the low estimation of regal good faith. For not only was Henry obliged to pay beforehand, but, what appears humiliating for a monarch, he had to give security for the regular discharge of the remainder; for which purpose he pledged a great amount of Crown jewels, with a quantity of plate, to his soldiers as security for their wages, which were not redeemed till after his death. "A very unfavourable impression of the royal dignity," observes Sir Harris Nicolas, "is produced by these

(1) These are called "*gaignes de guerre*." "Our s^d Lord the King shall have as well the third part of the *gaignes de guerre* of the s^d Count (Earl of Oxenford) as the third of the third part of the *gaignes* of the people of his retinue in the voyage taken, as the *gaignes* of the prisoners, money and all gold and silver and jewels exceeding the value of ten marks," &c. (Translated from copy of original document in Mr. Hunter's Tract, No. 1.)

(2) From the old French *prest* (*prêt*), ready. A sort of earnest money, or part of their wages paid in advance on engaging them. "On peut de plus ici observer le terme de *prest*, qui est encore aujourd'hui en usage parmi les troupes, pour signifier une avance de quelque argent qu'on fait aux soldats."—*Mil. Fran.*, i., liv. iv., ch. ii.

contracts; for whilst they prove the king's extreme poverty, they establish the degrading fact that the humblest esquire in his retinue would not embark under his banner without receiving half a year's wages in advance, or a piece of plate, a fragment of the royal diadem, or some other valuable article, as security for payment. This caution must have arisen from experience of its necessity; and it may be inferred that the laurels that adorned the brows of some of our early monarchs were gained by services which they repaid with treachery and falsehood." (*Battle of Agincourt*, p. 23.)

2. Indentures of receipt of prest money require no further explanation; they are, in fact, a discharge for the payment of a quarter's service, before the service had been performed. The Earl of Arundel and Surrey, the Lord Treasurer of England, is in these the contracting party for the king. (See a specimen of one of these indentures in Mr. Hunter's Tract *Agincourt*, p. 16.)

3. Jewels in pawn: acknowledgments for the receipt of Crown jewels and plate in pledge, the person receiving them entering into indenture with Richard Courtney, Bishop of Norwich, treasurer of the king's household, for their safe custody, and the return of them to the Royal treasury, when the king had fulfilled his part of the contract. These pledges were not redeemed till after the king's death, by Henry VI. (Rymer, ix. 286.—*Sloane MS.*, 4,600, f. 503.) Many of these indentures contained a covenant, that if not redeemed within a certain period they

Prest Money

Jewels in
Pawn.

might become the property of, or be disposed of by, the holder. Collectively, these indentures impress one with the great wealth of the old sovereigns of England in silver and gold plate, jewels, and goldsmiths' work in general.

In Henry VI.'s reign, it would appear that the captains indented with the king for their own services and those of men hired by them.⁽¹⁾ Troops thus levied, together with foreign mercenaries, make the nearest approach that can be discovered in the early affairs of the English monarchy to a permanent, or, as it is technically called, a standing army. But the king's power was necessarily limited by his revenue; and the maintenance of a permanent force seems to have been little regarded by our ancient sovereigns, as, until the times of the Civil War, the few troops composing their immediate body-guard were the only permanent soldiers in England.

It appears that an expedient sometimes resorted to, in order to procure *volunteers* for the king's military service, was to pardon criminals, on condition of their serving in the army, and finding security to answer any prosecution, if called upon, at their return.⁽²⁾ Edward I., in order to strengthen the army with which he was about to march to Scotland in 1296, offered a full pardon to all outlaws and malefactors who should join it.⁽³⁾ Edward III.

⁽¹⁾ "For such terms for which their masters have indented." (18th Hen. VI., cc. 18 and 19.)

⁽²⁾ "Si quis adversus eos loqui velit." (See Barrington's *Observations on the more Ancient Statutes*.)

⁽³⁾ *Abbrev. Placit.*, 236.—*Rot.*, i.

granted a pardon to all felons that shall be ready to serve the king in his wars⁽¹⁾. The king's justices were occasionally empowered to issue these pardons.⁽²⁾ They were then assembled by writs issued to the sheriffs of the different counties of England, directing them to cause it to be cried throughout their districts that all such as had charters of pardon should repair towards the sea, to enter into the pay and service of the king. Those in the west, at Dartmouth; those in the counties of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, at Winchelsea; those in Cambridge, Huntingdon, Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincoln, Northampton, or Rutland, and the neighbouring counties, at Yarmouth and St. Botolph's; so that they were there by a stated time, under penalty of losing their charters of pardon.⁽³⁾ This practice was continued, for we find that, in 1563, prisoners in Newgate and the Fleet were drafted into the army which Elizabeth was collecting, in order to fight the French. (*Dom. MSS.*, Eliz., vol. xxviii.) The Act 2 Anne (1703-4), "for discharging out of prison insolvent debtors as should serve, or procure a person to serve, H.M.'s Fleets or Armies," had very close affinity to this.

The ranks of the English armies were largely recruited from Wales and Cornwall, from whence active and hardy troops were procured. The former are found acting in great numbers in our wars. Edward I., with the usual policy of a conqueror, employed the Welsh to assist him in his Scottish wars, for which

Welsh
and Cornish
Troops.

⁽¹⁾ *Rot. Franc.*, 17 Edw. III., quoted in Cottonian MS. *Julius*, f. 6.

⁽²⁾ *Rot. Vascon*, anno Ed., M. 8, N. 11, MS. Yelvert. Quoted by Grose, i. 70.

⁽³⁾ *Rot. Parl.*, anno 13 Edw. III.

their habits as mountaineers particularly fitted them. But this policy was not without its risks. Previous to the battle of Falkirk (A.D. 1298) the Welsh quarrelled with the English men-at-arms, and, after bloodshed on both sides, separated themselves from his army; and the feud between them, at so critical a juncture, was reconciled with difficulty. Edward II. followed his father's example in this particular, with not much better success. Clad only in scanty dresses of linen cloth, they appeared naked in the eyes even of the Scottish peasantry;⁽¹⁾ and after the rout at Bannockburn were massacred by them in great numbers, as they retired in confusion towards their own country, under the command of Sir Maurice de Berkeley. The muster-roll of the besieging army of Calais under Edward III., before quoted, gives "4,474 Welsh foot."

Their Arms.

The lance, or glaive, was the weapon which they are generally described as making use of. When the Earl of Warwick went to attack them in their own country, "hearing that a great number of Welshmen was assembled together, and lodged in a valley betwixt two woods, he chose out a number of horsemen, with certain cross-bowmen and archers, and coming upon the Welshmen in the night, compassed them round about, the which pitching the end of their spears in the ground, and turning the point against their enemies, stood at defence, and to keep off the horsemen."⁽²⁾ The mode of warfare of these troops, Welsh and Cornish, does not appear to have

⁽¹⁾ Barbour's *Bruce*, p. 276.

⁽²⁾ Holinshed, Edward I., A.D. 1295.

been always of the most honourable kind; for we hear of them at Crecy as getting among the disabled of all ranks, and butchering them with the long knives or short swords with which they were armed. Johnes⁽¹⁾ and Buchon,⁽²⁾ in their editions of Froissart, both denominate the Welsh and Cornish men as the perpetrators of these cruelties, at which the king is reported to have been much incensed, not on account of the cruelty, but because "he had rather they (the French) had been taken prisoners." But Berners is more discreet, and does not specify the nationalities, merely recording that "amonge the Englyshmen there were certayne rascalles that went a fote with great knyves—they went in among the men of armes, and slew and muredredde many as they lay on the ground."⁽³⁾ Whether "rascalles" became a *nom de guerre* for Welsh and Cornish, as brigands came to denote those particular troops who lived by pillage, does not appear.

At the above-mentioned siege, when all the chivalry of England were lying before the walls of Calais, and the mother-country was almost denuded of soldiers, we find some Welsh among the band of gallant men under Queen Philippa who were hastily gathered together, and who successfully stopped the irruption of David, King of Scotland, who, of course, took advantage of the opportunity to march an army into the English territory.

Battle of
Nevil's Cro

⁽¹⁾ B. i., ch. cxxix., p. 166.

⁽²⁾ Tom. i., ch. ccxciii., p. 241.

⁽³⁾ Vol. i., cap. cxxx., p. 157.

Irish Troops.

The Irish also, although their nation was in perpetual enmity with this country, contributed to the successes of the English arms, as they have largely in modern times. On account of the poverty of their country, the Irish were glad to escape and take service anywhere, and they will be found fighting in the ranks of most European nations.

In the sixteenth century some fifteen hundred of them formed part of the auxiliary force dispatched by Queen Elizabeth to the Netherlands. During the expedition the English soldiers suffered much from the want of proper clothing, an inconvenience from which the Irish kernes were free; for we are told they habitually dispensed with clothing, an apron from waist to knee being the only protection of these wild Kelts, who fought with the valour, and nearly in the costume, of Homeric heroes.⁽¹⁾ They are described by all contemporaries, English and Flemish, as the wildest and fiercest of barbarians, eating raw flesh and speaking no intelligible language, fearing nothing and sparing nothing, with as little regard for the laws of Christian warfare as for those of civilised costume.⁽²⁾

The deputy, Senleger, in a letter to Henry VIII., describes them thus: "One sorte be harnesssed in mayle and bassenettes, having every of them his weapon, called a sparre, moche like the axe of the Towre, and they be named galloglasse; and for the more part ther boyes beare for them thre dartes a piece, which dartes

(1) *Vide* Motley's *United Netherlands*, ii. 38.

(2) Sir John Norris to Lord Burghley, 21st of Jan., 1587. (State Paper Office MS.)

they throwe or (before) they come to the hand strike : they doo not lightly abandon the field, but byde the brunt to the deathe. The other sorte, callid kerne, ar naked men, but only ther shurtes and small cotes ; and many tymes whan they come to the bycker, but bare nakyd saving ther shurtes, and those have dartes and shorte bowes, which sorte of people be bothe hardy and clever to serche woddes or maresses, in the whiche they be harde to be beaten." (See note to Lingard, *sub. an.* 1562, vol. vi., ch. iv., p. 315, edit. 1849.)

They may have been employed as hobilers, as the term was for the light cavalry of early days, for the hobbies, or small active horses, which were used in that service, appear to have been abundant in Ireland. Edward I. engaged them to assist him in his Scotch wars.⁽¹⁾ It has already been stated that there was a strong force of them under Edward III. at Crecy. At the siege of Rouen, the appearance and conduct of the Irish troops was highly praised. "During the siege," says Holinshed, "there arrived at Harfleur, the Lord of Kilmaine in Ireland, with a band of 1,600 Irishmen, in mail, with darts and skains, after the manner of their country, all of them being tall, quick, and nimble persons, which came and presented themselves before the king, lying still at the siege, of whom they were not only gently received and wel-

(1) Roll endorsed "Conditions for engaging the Services of the Earl of Ulster, and other Irish, to assist the King in the Scotch Wars." *Temp.* Edw. I. (Army and Navy Accts., Record Office.—See also Rymer, i., pt. ii., p. 939.)—Earl of Ulster and others in Ireland to serve the king in his wars against Scotland, with 2,000 foot soldiers and 700 horse. (30 Edw. I.)

comed. They did their devoir so well, that no men were more praised, nor did more damage with their enemies than they did; for surely their quickness and swiftness of foot did more prejudice to their enemies, than their barded horses did hurt or damage to the nimble Irishmen.”⁽¹⁾

A curious engraving, representing a group of wild Irish, copied from an ancient MS., is given in Strutt's *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, p. 41.

State of
Ireland.

There are two very curious accounts of Ireland and the Irish in the fourteenth century, written by two of the suite of Richard II. in his expedition to that country in 1399: one by Henry Cristall, an English esquire, who was taken prisoner by the Irish, and subsequently related his adventures to Froissart (*Chron.*, xi., c. 24); the other by a French gentleman, who has recorded the incidents of the campaign in a *Metrical History*, translated and annotated upon in *Archæologia*, xx. The condition of Ireland at this period was truly deplorable. The island was the resort of outlaws, exiles, and adventurers of different nations; it was peopled by savage tribes, and by settlers equally ferocious; and the affairs of its government seemed to be in desperate and inextricable confusion. In original documents respecting the state of the country, the inhabitants are described under three classes, “Wild Irish, rebellious Irish, and obedient English.” (Bibl. Cott. MS., *Titus*, b. xi., f. 3.)

⁽¹⁾ *Chronicles*, an. 6 Hen. V. (1418), p. 565.—Grafton, p. 469.—Hall, fol. xxviii.—And compare *Chroniques d'Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, liv. i., ch. cciii., edit. Panth. litt., p. 441.

The "wild Irish" were the unsubdued natives who had retired to the interior fastnesses, the mountains, bogs, and forests; they were governed by their own rude chiefs and laws, and looked upon all the rest as their natural enemies. These were out of the protection of the English laws, and it was often adjudged no felony to kill a mere Irishman in time of peace. (*Discovery of the True Cause why Ireland was never entirely Subdued*, by Sir John Davies, edit. 1747, p. 102, *et seq.*) "The rebellious Irish" were those who were also called English by blood, and were in part descended from the original conquerors, who had intermarried with the natives, and adopted their dress and manners, their language and customs. Their territory was called the English pale. "The obedient English" were a confused medley of soldiers, merchants, men of needy or desperate fortunes, and those whom the English Government had entrusted with authority. They occupied the principal towns and cities, and small tracts around them, chiefly in Leinster, and on the eastern and southern coasts.

Such a population, in such an age, rendered Ireland "a land full of wars." (Camden, *Annals of Ireland*, an. 1341.) Sometimes the septs were destroying each other; at other times, they were making inroads upon the English pale, or joining with the great settlers in mutual ravages. Richard II., in the beginning of his reign, addressed a rebuke to his liege subjects respecting their dissensions (Rymer, *Donat. MS.*, Brit. Mus., v. 121), which he followed up by sending Edmund Mortimer as his lieutenant into the

country. (Dugdale, *Baron. i.*, 149.) His government, however, lasted only two years, and after his death, they gradually fell into such disorders that the king found it necessary, in 1394, to interfere by his presence. His enemies submitted, but at his departure they scorned the weak forces that he had left behind him, and relapsed into their former anarchy.⁽¹⁾

In the reign of Elizabeth, amongst the aboriginal Irish, the man who chiefly excited the jealousy of her Government was Shane O'Neile, the eldest among the legitimate children of the Earl of Tyrone. Through the suggestion of the Earl of Sussex, who commanded in Ireland, O'Neile consented to visit Elizabeth, and to lay his pretensions before her. At the English Court he appeared in the dress of his country, attended by his guards, who were armed with battle-axes, and arrayed in linen vests dyed with saffron.

The queen was pleased, and although she did not confirm his claim, dismissed him with promises of favour. At last he broke—perhaps was driven—into acts of open rebellion. He sought refuge among the Scots of Ulster, equally enemies to the natives and to England, and he was basely assassinated by his new friends. By Act of Parliament, the name with the dignity of O'Neile was extinguished for ever, and the lands of Shane, and of all his adherents, comprising one-half of Ulster, were vested in the Crown.⁽²⁾

The Scots and
Scotland.

The Scots, until the junction of the two crowns, were the perpetual enemies of England, and the

(1) See note, *Archæologia*, xx., p. 17.

(2) Camden, 153-6.—Rymer, xv. 676.—Irish Stat., 2 Eliz., Sess. iii.

constant allies of France. On those two accounts, we can hardly expect to find many Scotch mercenaries in the English service. After the conquest of England by the Norman-French, when the new dynasty of kings set up a claim of feudal superiority over Scotland, and attempted to enforce this by armed invasions, the people of Scotland repelled these by the sword, and successfully maintained their national freedom and independence against apparently overwhelming odds. The war to which these attempts on the part of England gave rise, constitutes a very interesting period in history, and is intimately associated, so far as the Scottish people are concerned, with that friendly connection with the continent of Europe which lasted for centuries, and which is not yet forgotten. The drain upon the powers of the country was deplorable. Not only was there retrogression in commerce and manufactures, but the very cultivation of the soil went back and suffered for want of capital and labour. The neighbourhood of their ancient enemy was a constant source of alarm. Besides this, the throne of the Bruces and the early Stuarts was never a strong one. The greater barons were at all times formidable rivals of the Crown, and the history of the different families is a chequered picture of insurrection and private feuds, of treason and oppression. The Highlanders never paid any allegiance to the Crown, save as far as it accorded with the will of their chiefs. The antagonism to England made Scotland the constant theatre of French intrigues,

and even the Church failed notoriously in its mission of civilisation. A poor and demoralised tenantry were the fit vassals of the improvident, barbarous gentry.⁽¹⁾ We do hear of Scotchmen, as well as Irishmen and others, fighting in France, and described as "English;" but that term was a vague one, as has been before remarked, and was often bestowed indiscriminately on those who contended against the French, as though the English were the natural enemies of France. These men fought (often during the existence of truces between the two countries) on their own private enterprise and responsibility, and had no reference to the wars waged by the Crowns of France and England.

During the detention of John II. in England, the whole kingdom of France was kept in a state of warfare under the name of the King of Navarre, who, says Froissart,⁽²⁾ "retained men of war, Almaygues,⁽³⁾ Brabanses,⁽⁴⁾ Heynoners,⁽⁵⁾ Behaigne-

⁽¹⁾ "A remarkable proof of the little intercourse between the English and Scots before the union of the crowns," says Robertson (*Hist. Scotland*, iii., b. viii.), "is to be found in two curious State papers, one published by Haynes, the other by Strype. In 1567, Queen Elizabeth commanded the Bishop of London to take a survey of all the strangers within the cities of London and Westminster." By this report, which is very minute, it appears that the whole number of Scots at that time was 58. (Haynes, 455.)—A survey of the same kind was made by Sir Thos. Row, Lord Mayor, in 1568, when the number of Scots had then increased to 88. (Strype, iv., sup., No. 1.)—See also some remarks on this subject in the *Edinburgh Review*, Oct., 1864.

⁽²⁾ *Chron. (Berners)*, i., cap. clxxxviii., p. 224.

⁽³⁾ Germans.

⁽⁴⁾ Brabançons.

⁽⁵⁾ Hainaulters.

noyes,⁽¹⁾ and from every place where he might get them, for he paid largely." Among them "were two men of arms, Radygos de Dury⁽²⁾ and Robin l'Escot⁽³⁾. . . . The knights of the country had enough to do to keep their fortresses and houses; so these Naveroyse and *Englishmen* went and did what they list."⁽⁴⁾ With a few notorious exceptions, like the Earl of Dunbar and Simon de Fresel (or, more properly, Simon Fraser), who occasionally wavered between their fidelity to their own sovereign and the King of England,⁽⁵⁾ the Scots, as a nation, remained true to their traditions, their policy, and, doubtless, their inclinations. The appearance of some half-naked men, armed with broadswords and lances, with a bag-piper preceding them, in the engraving of the siege of Boulogne, under Henry VIII., in 1544, is one of the few instances on record of the presence of the Scots in connection with an English army.⁽⁶⁾ On this occasion they are apparently pursuing their old vocation of looking after other people's cattle, for they are driving oxen and sheep into camp, and were probably employed as foragers in executing the

⁽¹⁾ Bohemians.

⁽²⁾ Probably an Irishman, "of Derry."

⁽³⁾ Cuvelier, *Chron. de Bertrand du Guesclin*, t. i., v. 7,520.—"Dans la Scala chronica, sous l'année 1359, figure un Robert Scot, chevalier anglais, fait prisonnier près de Paris." (Note to Michel's *Écossais en France*, i. 73.)

⁽⁴⁾ *Chron.* (Berners), i., cap. clxxxix., p. 224.

⁽⁵⁾ Vide Nicolas's *Memoirs of the Peers and Knights at the Siege of Carlaverock*.

⁽⁶⁾ Froissart states that there were 300 Scots lancers in the army of the Duke of Lancaster in 1373. (i., pt. ii., ch. ccclxix.)

Scots'
Strategy.

commissariat duties of the army.⁽¹⁾ The national mode of warfare of the Scots was a desultory one, and generally predatory. Their plan of operations was to make sudden inroads upon the English territory—razzias, as they are called in modern phrase—to burn and plunder, and then retire as suddenly. They often assembled great armies; but their policy was to harass the enemy, by leading him on in hopeless pursuit through their mountain fastnesses, rather than to await the shock of battle.

When bent on these expeditions they must have collected a vast number of horses, for Froissart informs us that they were all mounted, and were unencumbered with any amount of provisions or baggage. “Tous montés sur haquenées,” says Froissart, “car nul ne va à pied en Ecosse, mais tous à cheval, excepté la ribaudaille qui les suit à pied.” The chronicler’s description of a Scotch army on its march, in 1327, is too graphic not to be inserted here ⁽²⁾:—“These Scottish men are right hardy, and sore traveling (*much accustomed*) in harness and in wars; for when they will enter into England within a day and a night, they will drive their whole host (army) twenty-four miles, for they are all a horseback, without it be the traundals and laggars⁽³⁾ (camp-followers) of the host, who

⁽¹⁾ See “a description of some ancient historical paintings at Cowdray, in Sussex” (engraved by order of the Soc. of Antiq.), in *Archæologia*, iii., p. 238.

⁽²⁾ *Chron.* (Berners), i., cap. xvii., p. 18. Lord Berners’ translation is here selected (with modernised spelling), as being the most intelligible.

⁽³⁾ *Ribaudaille.* (Buchon, i. 25.)

follow after a foot. The knights and squires are well horsed, and the common people and other on little hackneys and geldings; and they carry with them no carts, nor chariots, for the diversities of the mountains that they must pass through, in the country of Northumberland. They take with them no perveyance of bread nor wine, for their usage and soberness is such in the time of war that they will pass in the journey a great long time with flesh half sodden, without bread, and drink of the river-water without wine; and they neither care for pots nor pans, for they seethe (boil) beasts in their own skins. They are ever sure to find plenty of beasts in the country that they will pass through. Therefore they carry with them none other purveyance, but on their horses; between the saddle and the pannell, they truss (carry) a broad plate of metal, and behind the saddle they will have a little sack full of oatmeal, to the intent that when they have eaten of the sodden flesh, then they lay this plate on the fire, and temper a little of the oatmeal; and when the plate is hot, they cast off the thin paste thereon, and so make a little cake in manner of a cracknell, or biscuit; and that they eat to comfort withal their stomachs. Wherefore it is no great marvel though they make greater journeys than other peple do."

This Parthian mode of warfare had its successes, and was adapted to the character of the people and the nature of the country. Witness Edward III.'s first expedition against the Scots. The English army, 40,000 or 50,000 strong, assembled at Durham,

and advanced by forced marches in quest of the enemy, who were laying everything waste before them. The first difficulty which the young king met with arose from a bad feeling existing in his own camp; for there were some foreign mercenaries in the army, archers of Hainault,⁽¹⁾ and a serious affray occurred between them, and many were killed on either side.

When this was arranged, the army marched on, day after day; but as fast as they advanced, the enemy retired. The flame and smoke of burning villages directed them in the track of the enemy; but it was like the luring Will-o'-the-Wisp leading them on to destruction. Men and horses were distressed by the long marchings, besides being harassed by continual watchfulness by night and by day; the rain descended, and they were but ill prepared for it, as they had left their heavy baggage behind at Durham, in order that they might move as rapidly as possible; and, in addition, provisions were now difficult to be procured. Under these circumstances, no wonder that the army grew dispirited and discontented, and the King offered the honours of knighthood and one hundred pounds a-year in land for life to him who should first bring tidings of the enemy; and many knights and squires, in the adventurous spirit of chivalry, swam their horses across the swollen river (probably the Tyne), in the hopes of gaining the reward. This had the desired effect, for on the fourth day certain accounts were brought of them

(¹) Froissart, i., p. 22.

by an esquire, Thomas Rokesby, who was immediately knighted for the service, and shortly afterwards received the promised reward. ⁽¹⁾ With him for guide, the English soon came in view of the Scots. They were so advantageously posted on a rising ground, having the river Were in their front, and their flanks secured by rocks and precipices, that the English saw it was impracticable to attack them in their present position.

The Earl of Murray and Lord Douglas, the two commanders of the Scottish army, were celebrated warriors, bred in the long hostilities between the Scots and English. Edward, impatient for revenge and glory, sent a herald to them in proper chivalric style: "Either," was the message, "suffer me to pass the river, and leave me room to draw up my forces, or do you pass the river, and I will leave you room to draw up yours." "We will do neither," was the reply.

The armies continued in sight of each other for three days. The English "lay very uncomfortably upon the hard ground, among rocks and stones, with their armour on; nor could they get any stakes for the purpose of tying their horses, or procure either litter, or forage, or any bushes to make fire." ⁽²⁾ The Scots were determined that their enemies should get no rest, for "they made marvellously great fires, and

⁽¹⁾ *Vide* Rymer: An order for Thomas de Rokesby to receive half-yearly at Michaelmas and Easter, £100 at the Exchequer, until he was provided with £100 in land for life. Signed by the king at Lincoln, Sept. 28th, 1327.

⁽²⁾ Froissart, i., ch. xlii., p. 30.

about midnight such a blasting and noise with their horns that it seemed as if all the great devils from hell had been come there." (1) The English kept their position, daily expecting that the want of provisions would compel the Scots to change their ground, and thus afford the invading army a chance of overwhelming them with superior forces. On the fourth morning the Scots had disappeared, having decamped in the darkness of the night; and they were found to have posted themselves two miles higher up the river, on stronger and still more inaccessible ground, amidst a great wood. The English, of course, pursued, and took up a station opposite to them.

While the armies lay in this position, Douglas attempted a desperate surprise, which had nearly proved fatal to the English. At midnight, in company of 200 determined men, he made his way amidst the English, and killed 300 of them, calling out, "Douglas! Douglas! ye shall all die, thieves of England." (2) He even made his way to the king's quarters, and cut some of the cords of his tent, and then finding numbers too strong for him, he called off his followers and retreated rapidly, and gained safely the opposite eminence among his friends, with the loss of only a few of his men. The English kept a better watch for the future, and the knights and men-at-arms slept in their armour, doubtless much to their additional annoyance. However, nothing of

(1) "Ce fût un droit enfer, et que tous les diables fussent là assemblés, par droit avis." (*Ibid.*, p. 31.)

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 32.

the sort was attempted again; but daily skirmishes took place, in which both sides lost some men. One day the English learned, from the forced confession of a prisoner, that the Scots army was to be under arms that evening; upon which, apprehending another night attack, they prepared to resist it, and lighted great fires, and kept a strict watch; but in the morning they were informed by two trumpeters of the enemy, whom they had taken prisoners, that they were again out-manceuvred, and that the Scots had quitted their position before midnight, and were by that time no one knew whither.

The report could scarcely be credited, and the English army remained for some hours in order of battle, until the fact was ascertained beyond doubt. On some of the English horsemen galloping to the ground lately occupied by the enemy, they found some curious relics there. There were "more than 500 beasts ready slain, because the Scots could not drive them before them, and that their English enemy should have but small profit out of them; also there were 300 cauldrons made of beasts' skins, with the hair still on them, strained on stakes over the fire, full of water and full of flesh, to be sodden, and more than 1,000 spits full of flesh to be roasted, and more than 10,000 old shoes made of raw leather, with the hair still on them; also, they found five poor Englishmen, prisoners, bound fast to certain trees, and some of their legs broken." ⁽¹⁾

Edward, soon after this, worn out with continued

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

disappointments, led his army back to Durham, and there disbanded it.

PLATE XXXVI.—A group of Lochaber axes, of various forms. The hook was especially used for catching the bridles of horses, and their whole form is suggestive of rough and wild warfare. There are also specimens of Lochaber axes in the Museum of the Royal United Service Institution, London.

A broad distinction existed between the Lowlanders of the south of Scotland and the Highlanders. This may partly be accounted for by the influx of discontented barons and knights from England, who, abandoning their homage to the Conqueror, crossed the Tweed, and offered their services to King Malcolm, by whom they were favourably received, ⁽¹⁾ as the ill-used fugitive Saxons had been before. Thus were the habits and sentiments of France and England imparted to the North, and the diversity of race was lost sight of in the fusion of manners, and even of language. At the battle of the Standard, in 1138, we find honourable mention of a body of English and Norman horsemen, who formed part of the royal household of Scotland: when the Scots army was broken, and took to flight, these made a gallant stand to the last, led by King David's valiant son Henry. ⁽²⁾ The Highlanders have adhered with wonderful pertinacity to the ancient mode of warfare.

⁽¹⁾ Ellis's *Metrical Romances*, vol. i., introduction, p. 125.

⁽²⁾ "Sola namque acies ejus equis residebat, ex Anglia videlicet et Normannis composita, qui in patris familia conversabantur." (Roger de Hoveden, p. 483.)

No. 36.



Lochaber Axes, of various forms. The hook was especially used for catching the bridles of the horses, and their whole form is suggestive of rough and wild warfare. From studies made by James Drummond, Esq., R.S.A., Edinburgh.

The claymore and shield were in use up to the rebellion of 1745 ; and modern victories, down to the great Indian mutiny, attest the fact that the Scotchmen of recent times are no degenerate sons of those who fought and conquered at Bannockburn and Prestonpans.

CHAPTER XII.

FOREIGN MERCENARIES EMPLOYED IN ENGLAND—FREE COMPANIES ABROAD
—SIR JOHN HAWKWOOD—DON PEDRO AND HENRY OF TRANSTAMARE
—THE BLACK PRINCE AT NAJERA—A PARALLEL IN MODERN TIMES
—ITALIAN AND SPANISH HARQUEBUSSIERS IN EDWARD VI.'S REIGN
—BRABANÇONS, ROUTERS, COTERELLS, RIBALDS, BRIGANDS—FIRST
STANDING ARMY ORGANISED IN FRANCE—NO SIMILAR MOVEMENT
IN ENGLAND—LORD-LIEUTENANTS APPOINTED—QUEEN MARY—LOSS
OF CALAIS—ELIZABETH'S REIGN.

Mercenary
Troops.

THE foreign mercenaries hired by our kings comprised men of various countries, and numerous designations. Of these, the most numerous appear to have been the Brabançons, Flemings, and Hainaultiers. There were also Lansquenets and Reiters (German spearmen and horsemen), and a wide class consisting of *Routers*, *Coterells*, *Ribalds*, *Bidaux*, *Brigands*, and others, whom Lord Berners includes under the category of "rascalles."

These men were generally wild adventurers, half soldiers, half banditti, who engaged themselves on any side for hire,⁽¹⁾ and were paid off as soon as

(1) We find this "hiring" stipulated for by treaty. The Duke of Burgundy having purchased a three years' truce of Edward III., it was stipulated, amongst other articles, "that the said duke, and also all the nobles and subjects of the aforesaid duchy, notwithstanding the aforesaid truce, shall have free license and liberty to arm themselves (*se puissent franchement armer*) with or for whomsoever it shall please them." (Rymer, *sub anno* 1360.)

their services could be dispensed with; the consequence was, that disbanding these ruffians often made peace more terrible than war. From our insular position we were comparatively free from their excesses, but France was overrun with them; ⁽¹⁾ so much so, that in the fourteenth century the Pope preached a crusade against them, and they were hunted down like wolves. "Ainsi étoit le royaume de France de tous lez pillé et dérobé, ni on ne savoit de quel part chevaucher que on ne fût rué jus" (a bas). (Froissart, i. 401.) Although, as already observed, the early Norman kings, beginning with William the Conqueror, employed foreign auxiliaries, hired troops did not in general form a considerable portion of armies till the wars of our Henry II. and Philip Augustus of France.⁽²⁾ In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries mercenaries were employed to a great extent both at home and abroad, and in substitution of the feudal militia. The fact was, that sovereign princes had discovered the advantage of receiving money and dispensing with their subjects' attendance, by which they were enabled to hire those who—at all events as long as they were paid—were obedient to their

(1) "Il serait difficile de peindre l'état de misère dans lequel les ravages de ces compagnies étrangères avaient plongé la France à cette époque de désordre et de confusion (A.D. 1361). Le mal était si général qu'on composa alors des prières publiques qu'on ajoutait au service divin pour prier Dieu de détourner ce fléau, comme dans le temps de peste on chante des cantiques analogues. On retrouve quelques-uns de ces cantiques latins dans un manuscrit des œuvres de Machau.—(*Bibl. du Roi*, cod. 7,609)." (Note to Buchon's *Froissart*, i. 455.)

(2) Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. i., ch. ii., pt. ii.

wishes, and, moreover, were men versed in the usages of war. As numbers do not necessarily contribute to the intrinsic efficiency of armies, so it was found that a comparatively small number of practical soldiers was superior to a crowd of undisciplined men, as the feudal levies must have been. The letting out of fighting men became a profitable speculation; most Continental nations went largely into it, and the Italian Condottieri became a synonym for army contractors on a large scale.⁽¹⁾ Men with these peculiar tastes for enjoying life, when their services were not retained, joined themselves into bands—free companies, as they were called⁽²⁾—and, clustering round some prominent warrior, who should lead them in their lawless exploits, did business on their own account. Knights—no great honour to chivalry, but as being the great military authorities of the age—were often selected as their leaders, and we find some of our countrymen, “purs anglais,” enjoying this questionable honour. A Welshman, with the appropriate name of Ruffin,⁽³⁾ whom his company had knighted, was one of these guerilla chieftains, who taking advantage of the weakness of the Regency when

(1) Gian Galeazzo Visconti promised constant half-pay to the condottieri whom he disbanded in 1396. This perhaps is the first instance of half-pay. (Sismondi.—Note to Hallam's *Middle Ages*, i., ch. iii., pt. ii.)

(2) “En ce temps que les trois états gouvernoient, se commençèrent à lever tels manières de gens qui s'appeloient Compagnies, et avoient guerre à toutes gens qui portoient malettes.” (Froissart, i. 373, anno 1357.)

(3) “Griffith,” according to Berners' translation.

John of France was a prisoner in England, overran and desolated the country between the Loire and the Seine, from the frontiers of Burgundy to those of Normandy. He acquired such immense riches that Froissart relates they could not be counted. These men rode over the country in parties of twenty, thirty, or forty, meeting with none to check their pillage; while on the sea-coast of Normandy there were a still greater number of English and Navarrais, plunderers and robbers. Messire Robert Canalle was their leader, who conquered every town and castle he came to. ⁽¹⁾

The evil of these terrible bands went on increasing. After the death of the ill-fated French monarch, and when Charles V. succeeded, and peace was proclaimed between the two countries, the many military adventurers who were then let loose dispersed themselves into the several provinces, and possessed themselves of the strongholds of the kingdom—where they established themselves, to the dismay of the country round—and these they, not unnaturally, declined to deliver up when summoned so to do. Their successful operations attracted others, so that their numbers were daily increasing, and before long they amounted to 16,000 men. ⁽²⁾ They fought pitched battles with the troops of France, and gained victories; in one of which John de Bourbon, a cousin of the king, and a valiant knight who had fought at Crecy and Poitiers, being deceived by a false account of their

⁽¹⁾ i.e., Sir Robert Knolles. (Froissart, i. 412, anno 1359.)

⁽²⁾ Froissart, i. 454, anno 1361.

numbers, was defeated and killed near Lyons. Villani⁽¹⁾ charges Edward III. with secretly encouraging these ravages, whilst outwardly he affected a strict observance of the peace. Being now masters of the field, they resolved upon paying the Pope and cardinals a visit at Avignon, where they expected to reap a rich harvest. Innocent VI. and the Roman College were, as may be supposed, exceedingly alarmed at this intelligence, and "ordeined a croysy (crusade) against these yvell Christen people, who did their payne to destroy Chrystendome."⁽²⁾ They absolved from penalty and blame (*a pœna et culpa*) all those who should volunteer to go forth and destroy these wretches. Peter de Monestier, Cardinal d'Arras, was elected by the cardinals to the chief command in this "croysy." He retained all soldiers and others who were desirous of saving their souls and of gaining the aforesaid pardons; but, as he would only bestow upon them these prospective advantages, with his blessing, but unaccompanied by any pay, they all deserted, whilst the "wicked companions" were daily increasing.

When matters had arrived at this crisis, the Pope and cardinals bethought them of a means of extrication. They sent for the Marquis de Montferrat, who for a long time had been engaged in war against the lords of Milan. He agreed, for a considerable sum of money, to free the territory of the Pope and the neighbourhood of those freebooting companies, and

(1) *Ist.*, l. ix., c. xxxvii.

(2) Froissart (Berners), i., cap. ccxv., p. 271.

to lead them with him into Lombardy. The marquis negotiated so well with the captains of the companies, that by means of 60,000 florins which he divided among them, and the high pay he promised them, they all consented, and marched off with him into Italy, having first insisted on receiving pardon and absolution, to the great relief of the Pontifical See and all the kingdom of France.

Amongst the wild spirits that composed these southern bands, was our own countryman, Sir John Hawkwood, of whom we may be justly proud, although he was but a mercenary, and the chief of a band of robbers; for his was a master spirit, and he bore his English name with high distinction amidst the wars with which the petty States of North Italy were distracted in the latter half of the fourteenth century. His career, too, is worth noticing, because he is a type of that better class of mercenary who sought to command in foreign armies, not to serve. Hawkwood was a soldier of fortune, who had learned his profession in that best school, the wars of Edward III. in France; and from a private soldier he rapidly rose to be a captain, and then a knight. He was an Essex yeoman, the born vassal of John de Vere, seventh Earl of Oxford, and is said to have been at first apprenticed to a tailor; ⁽¹⁾ "but soon," says Fuller, "turned his needle into a sword, and his thimble into a shield." ⁽²⁾ On the conclusion of the peace

Sir John
Hawkwood.

(1) "Sartore Inghlese" (Villani, *Ist.*, lib. ix., c. 37.) This historian also speaks of him as "John della guglie"—i.e., John of the needle.

(2) *Worthies of Essex*.

between England and France, he probably found himself too poor to maintain his dignity, and therefore associated, with others, in a corps called "*Les Tard Venus*,"⁽¹⁾ (because they arrived late on the field of plunder), and pillaged the fair lands of France. In 1361 he crossed the Alps, and led into Italy a band of 3,000 adventurers, who had engaged to fight under his command in the service of any State which should give them a suitable remuneration for their services. His first feat of arms in these parts was to take prisoner the "Green Count" of Savoy at Cirié, a small town of Piedmont. In 1363, this army of desperadoes was hired by the Republic of Pisa. They afterwards entered into the service of Bernabò Visconti, Lord of Milan, and defeated the Tuscan army. Being defrauded of his wages by Bernabò, Hawkwood engaged in the service of Pope Gregory XI., and heartily entered upon hostilities with his late employer. Having assisted in the capture of nearly 100 towns belonging to that prince, he had the satisfaction of seeing him reduced to sue for peace. In 1375 he entered the service of the Florentines, and soon after was promoted to the chief command of the Tuscan forces, in which capacity he merited and acquired great honour, by the courage and skill with which he conducted the military operations of the Republic. He retained the office of Generalissimo of the Florentine army till the time of his death, which event took place in 1393. The gratitude

(1) Froissart, ii. 64. "Il se fit chef d'une route de compagnons qu'on appeloit les Tard Venus."

of the Florentines honoured him with a magnificent funeral, and his fame was perpetuated by an equestrian picture, painted by Paolo Uccello, placed in the Church of St. Reparata to his memory at the public expense.⁽¹⁾ In 1376 Pope Gregory XI. bestowed on him the castles of Catignola and Bagnacavallo, near Faenza, perhaps the earliest instance on record of the grant of a sovereign fief by an Italian potentate on an alien; and, although he disposed of them in 1381, yet to this day, in their neighbourhood, the traveller finds a record of him in the *Strada Aguto*, which tradition affirms to have been made by his orders for military purposes. The circumstances of the times must be taken into consideration as an apology for the frequent changes of his service, which led him to engage as suited his interest. But he was a man of honour, who kept his engagements, and he refused an enormous bribe from the Signory to ravage the territory of Padua, because the Lord of Padua was his friend. His abilities in the field caused him to be courted by different rival States. Mr. Hallam, in reviewing his services, says, "Hawkwood appears to me the first general of modern times."⁽²⁾ The Florentines offered the best terms, and to them he ever after adhered with an irreproachable fidelity. So that Lucan's character of a mercenary soldier,

(¹) Now Santa Maria del Fiore, the Duomo, or Cathedral. A cenotaph was also erected to his memory by his executors in the church of his native place, Sible Hedingham, Essex, which remains, and in good preservation.

(²) *Middle Ages*, vol. i., ch. ii., pt. ii.

generally applicable, by no means belongs to him⁽¹⁾:—

“Nulla fides pietasque viris qui castra sequuntur,
Venalesque manus: ibi fas ubi maxima merces.”

Pharsalia, x. 408.

“He was a great master in the art of war,” says Villani, “and was naturally fox-like, wily, and cunning, like the rest of his nation” (*di natura a loro modo volpigna e astuta*). And again, says the historian, “il suo soprannome in lingua Inglese era Kauchouvole, che in Latino dice Falcone di bosco;” i.e., Hawkwood. It is difficult to recognise our English friend under this designation, any more than under that of Giovanni Arguto (John Sharp), which he is sometimes styled.

It is interesting to learn what sort of men these fighting English were, according to a foreigner's opinion, and what was their mode of warfare. As much order was maintained in the camps of the Condottieri—at least, in the early days—as in those of the national army, and more than has been enforced among regular troops in many instances of recent date. The same Italian historian enlarges on these matters:—“It was habitual for the English,” says he, “to go to war as well in winter as in summer, a thing quite unusual even among the Romans. They were all lusty young men, most of them born and brought up in the long wars between France and

⁽¹⁾ Vide Shepherd's *Life of Poggio Bracciolini*, ch. i., p. 18.—Also *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, vol. vi.—*Calendar of State Papers*, existing in the Archives of Venice, &c., vol. i., pp. 1,202, 1,509. By Edward Rawdon Brown. London, 1864.

England; warm, eager, and practised in slaughter and rapine, for which they were always ready to draw their swords, with very little care for their personal safety; but in matters of discipline very obedient to their commanders. In their camps and cantonments, through a disorderly and over-daring boldness, they lay scattered about in great irregularity.

“The armour of almost all were cuirasses; their breasts covered with a steel coat of mail; gauntlets and armour for thighs and legs; daggers and broadswords; all of them had tilting-lances, which, after dismounting from their horses, they were very dextrous in handling. Every man had one or two pages, and some of them more, according to their ability to maintain them. On taking off their armour, it was the business of these pages to keep it clean and bright, so that when they came to action their arms shone like looking-glass, and thus gave them a more terrifying appearance. Others among them were archers, their bows long and made of yew. They were very expert and dextrous in using them, and did great service in action. Their manner of fighting in the field was almost always on foot. The horses were given in charge to the pages. The body they formed was very compact, and almost round; each lance was held by two men, in the same manner as the spear is handled in hunting the wild boar; and thus close embodied, with their lances pointed low, and with slow steps, they marched up to the enemy with terrible outcry;

and very difficult was it to break or disunite them. But, after all, experience has shown they were more fit for night expeditions, and plundering villages, than for keeping the field; and their success was more owing to the cowardice of our own men than to their valour and military virtue. They had very curious ladders, in pieces, the biggest of which was of three steps, and one piece socketed into the other, like so many trumpets; and with these they were able to mount the top of the highest tower."

Don Pedro
and his
Brother.

A prospect of entire relief from the presence of these dangerous companies in France, and at the same time of utilising their services, soon after occurred, which the politic Charles V. was not likely to neglect. France had decided to assist the cause of Henry of Transtamare, ⁽¹⁾ who had taken up arms against his natural brother, Don Pedro, King of Castile, surnamed the Cruel. For this purpose it was proposed to enlist the companies, and lead them into Castile. Bertrand du Guesclin, at that time a prisoner in Sir John Chandos's hands, was ransomed for the occasion, and ordered to negotiate with the leaders, which he did, and soon came to terms with them. The Prince of Wales, in his government of Aquitaine, was of course cognisant of the expedition, and must have been, we may presume, favourably disposed towards it. Chandos was invited to a joint command in it, under Du Guesclin. This, however, he declined. Sir Hugh de Calverley was chosen to command the English party, and many

(1) Or, as he was called in Spain, *Conde de Trastamara*.

knights who were attached to the prince entered the service. Don Pedro was forced to fly; he took refuge with the Prince of Wales, and besought assistance from the English arms. The policy of England was suddenly changed, and, after a deliberation, it was resolved to espouse the part of Pedro, and to reinstate him on his throne.

The first blow which the Prince of Wales gave to the cause of Henry of Transtamare, was to recall all the free companies. ⁽¹⁾

Every knight of that period believed himself at liberty to lend his lance wherever he chose. The most scrupulous, on entering a foreign service, only stipulated that he should not be required to fight against his legitimate suzerain.

Such was the reverence for the Black Prince's name, that they flocked back to his standard as soon as it was heard that he was going again to take the field. ⁽²⁾ Between Najera and Navarette a decisive action was fought on the 3rd of April, 1366, and "Dampeter" ⁽³⁾ was once more king. Henry's army on this occasion is variously stated at from 60,000 to 100,000; at all events, it was far superior in numbers to that of the Black Prince; moreover, the latter had the disadvantage, usual with the English

⁽¹⁾ See Rymer (Dec. 6, 1365). "De impediendo soldarios qui in comitiva se ponunt, ne ingrediantur in Hispaniam."—"Et ne soeffrerons aucunes de nos gentz ou subgitz entrer ses terres ou seignuries pur y porter Damage aucun—."

⁽²⁾ Froissart (i., p. 535) says there were 1,200 pennons (*penonceaux*) of them at the battle of Najara, commanded by Sir John Chandos.

⁽³⁾ *Vide* Berners' and Buchon's *Froissart*.—A corruption, doubtless, of Don, or Dominus.

armies, of being short of provisions. Nevertheless, it won a great victory, and Henry of Transtamare was again a fugitive. The knights and heralds that went to visit the field, returned, and reported that "there were slain of their enemies, of men-at-arms, a five hundred and three score, and of commons, about a seven thousand and five hundred, beside them that were drowned; and of their own company they had found but the bodies of four knights, whereof two were Gascons, the third an Almayne, and the fourth an Englishman, and sixty archers and others."⁽¹⁾

The past is said to be the prophet of the future; and there are some parallels in these transactions, when compared with modern events on the same ground, which cannot fail to strike us. Then, as recently, the Peninsula was made the arena for war between the two great rivals, England and France; then the Black Prince, in spite of inferior forces, everywhere defeated the skilful and brave Du Guesclins, just as the Duke of Wellington did the Soult; then, as recently, the single-handed Spaniards were as easily defeated by the highly-organised French; then, as lately, Spanish juntas and rulers were proud, obstinate, and self-confident when danger was distant, but craven and clamorous for aid when it drew near: insolent and sanguinary in the hour of prosperity. When the foreigner had done their work, they treated him ungratefully, violated every promise, and robbed him even of his glory.

(¹) Froissart, i. 539.

The Black Prince crossed the Pyrenees in February, 1367; he arrived at Logrono "enduring the greatest anguish of mind," from want of food, and every promised co-operation of Pedro's worthless ministers. Such anguish, and from the same causes, was endured by our duke after Talavera; but neither despaired, being sufficient in themselves. The morn of April 3rd beheld the prince's army of 30,000 (Mariana, xvii. 10, says 20,000) opposed at Najera to 60,000 or 80,000 French and Spaniards, enough, as Wellington said at Rueda, "to eat him up." ⁽¹⁾ In vain the brave and skilful Du Guesclin spoke of prudence, and counselled, like Soult on the Tormes, a Fabian defence. His words, like those of the duke before Ocana, ⁽²⁾ were lost on the Spanish chiefs. Then did the Black Prince replace Don Pedro on his throne, as Wellington did Ferdinand VII., at the not distant Vittoria.

Don Pedro claimed all the glory for himself; he butchered his opponents, male and female, and violated every treaty and every pledge. At length the Black Prince quitted Spain in disgust; and so the duke retired after Talavera, when he had replaced Ferdinand on the throne, "Le gouvernement ayant manqué à tous les engagements faits avec moi, j'a donné ma démission." (*Disp.*, Oct. 30, 1813.)

Although England was not desolated as France was by bands of military adventurers, yet she was

⁽¹⁾ *Disp.*, Oct. 31, 1812.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, Dec. 6, 1809.—These comparisons occur in Ford's interesting and valuable *Hand-book for Spain*, p. 911.

not devoid of "free companies." Thus we find, in the reign of William Rufus, Bernard de Neuf-marché seized upon Brecknockshire, ⁽¹⁾ and in the time of Henry I., Richard, Count of Eu, conquered Pembroke with a small army of Brabançons, Normans, and English, ⁽²⁾ on their own account. The last of these robber-soldiers in Great Britain were the moss-troopers, who infested the borders of England and Scotland.

Foreign
mercenaries.

In the twelfth century the Brabançons (or natives of Brabant) were reputed the best infantry in Europe.⁽³⁾ At the siege of Carlaverock, the first division of King Edward's army was composed of Bretons, and the second of Lorrains.⁽⁴⁾ In the 15th Edward II., "the King commands his Seneschal of Gascony to send over 200 cross-bowmen and 200 lancemen, both foot, to Newcastle-on-Tyne (*Novum Castrum super Tynam*), to fight against the Scots; Raymond de Mille Sanctis to be chief leader" (*capitalis ductor*).⁽⁵⁾ These last, however, do not come under the category of foreign mercenaries, as they were the vassals of the English Crown. At the commencement of the short reign of Edward VI., many foreign mercenaries were engaged by the English Government, both for the purpose of the war in Scotland, as well as for quelling the disturbances at

(1) Dugdale, *Monasticon*, i., p. 320.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 722.—The Count of Eu received from his Flemings, and his English, the Teutonic surname of "Strongboghe," or "Strongbow," which *sobriquet* remained hereditary in his family.

(3) Giraldus Cambrensis, cap. viii.—*Anglia Sacra*, ii. 452.

(4) Nicolas' edit., p. 69.

(5) Rymer, *sub anno*.

home. At the decisive battle of Pinkey, fought under the Protector Somerset, in September, 1547, we read of Italian and Spanish harquebussiers on horseback.⁽¹⁾ Again, when hostilities were re-commenced in Scotland in the ensuing year, and a hostile squadron anchored at Leith, having on board 3,000 German and 2,000 French veterans, commanded by D'Esse,⁽²⁾ Lord Grey arrived with a powerful army, and we find Italian mercenaries employed in it.⁽³⁾ In August of that year, the Earl of Shrewsbury, who was appointed commander of the forces, crossed the borders with 22,000 men, of whom 3,000 or 4,000 were German lansquenets.⁽⁴⁾

In England, during this period, there were general discontents⁽⁵⁾ among the people, and dangerous insur-

(1) *Life of Edward VI.*, by Sir J. Hayward.—“Sir Peter Gamboa, Knight, Spaniard, captain of ii. c. hakebutteers on horseback.” (W. Patten's *Journal*, pub. 1548.—*Vide Scottish Hist. Fragments*, Brit. Mus., 807, c. 18.)

(2) André de Montalembert d'Essé.—Some remarks on this name in *Notes and Queries*, 3rd S., vi. 141, are worthy of perusal.

(3) William, Lord Grey de Wilton. (See his life, pub. by Camden Soc.; also Keith, 44.—Tytler, vi. 456.)

(4) *Edward VI.'s Journal*.—Holinshed.—“The English army came into Haddingtoun. They consisted of about 17,000 men; of which number 7,000 were horse, and 3,000 of the foot were German lands-knights, whom the Protector had entertained in his service.” (Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, ii., pt. i., p. 154. Edit. Ox., 1816.)

(5) The direct occasion of these troubles, which were very near being general throughout England, arose from the landlords converting large portions of their arable lands into pasturage, throwing together the small farms, raising the rents of such as remained, and enclosing the public lands. This supposed grievance had been already attempted to be remedied by Act of Parliament (13th and 25th of Hen. VIII.), whereby it was enacted that no person should occupy more than two farms, and that no person should keep on lands not their own inheritance more than 2,000 sheep. (See Froude's *Hist. of England*, i. 34.)

rections, and it was only with the aid of foreign troops—the bands of adventurers that had been raised in Italy, Spain, and Germany, to serve in the war against Scotland—that the Government was enabled to hold its own. In Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire the command was given to the Lord Grey, with a body of 1,500 men, including Baptist Spinola with his Italians; and the Marquis of Northampton entered Norwich at the head of 1,000 English horse, and a body of Italians under Malatesta.⁽¹⁾

Other
Mercenaries.

With respect to Routers, Coterelli, Ribaldi, and Brigands,⁽²⁾ terms often met with in the old chronicles, they denoted men addicted to the same pursuits—mercenary infantry of the lowest class—and it is difficult to decide which of them had the greatest claim to respectability. The Routers derived their name from the old French word *Route*, signifying a company, often found in Froissart. Father Daniel attributes the origin of the name Coterelli (on the authority of De Marcas' *Hist. of Bearn*) to the use of great knives, called, even in his time at Toulouse, *Coterels*, which these cut-throats made use

(¹) Sir William Herbert also came to the assistance of the king's forces with 1,000 Welshmen. (See Sir John Hayward's *Life of Edward VI.*)

(²) "Prædones militares, qui alias Ruptarii vocant." (Du Cange.)—"Ruptarius, qui rumpit terram," a common labourer, a ground-digger, or modern navvy. *Roturier* is probably derived from this. Chenevix, in his *Essay upon National Character*, anglicises the term. In vol. i., p. 262, speaking of the nobles, he says, "The entire order, and the very institution, received a further humiliation by the elevation of a ruptuary (*roturier*) to the honours of nobility;" and again, at p. 306, he speaks of "French ruptuaries (*roturiers*), for history must find a word for this class," &c.

of. "De ce mot," he goes on to say, "vient le mot *Coterie*, qui signifie une espèce de société de gens qui se soutiennent les uns les autres."⁽¹⁾

Ribaldi, or Ribauds, was the designation of the lowest grade of foot-troops. Matthew Paris speaks of them as "*Ribaldi et viles personæ*."⁽²⁾ They are mentioned also in the arduous but inglorious capacity of porters to the army:—"Inermes Ribaldos et alios, qui solent sequi exercitum propter onera deportanda."⁽³⁾ They accompanied armies in great numbers, picking up, doubtless, what existence they could. Their poverty made them desperate, and although they were unprovided with defensive armour, they did not hesitate to thrust themselves foremost into danger:—

"Et Ribaldorum nihilominus agmen inerme,
Qui nunquam dubitant in quævis ire pericla."

Philippidos, lib. iii.

However useful in their vocation, they were the scum of fighting men, and their name became a by-

⁽¹⁾ *Milice Franç.*, tome i., liv. iii., ch. viii., p. 141.—A passage from an old French chronicler, speaking of the Coterelli, is worth noting:—"En cele année (A.D. 1183) furent occis vii mille Coteriau et plus en la contrée de Boorges, si les occistrent cil dou país par le secors que li Rois leur fist pour les tres-horribles desloiautez que il fesoient par tot le país: car il entrerent en la terre le Roi à force, il ardoient les mostiers et les eglises, et trainoient apres eux en loiens les prestres et les genz de religion, et les apeloient *cantadors* par derision: quant il les batoient et tormentoient, lors disoient-il, *cantador, cantez, cantador*."—*Extraits des Chroniques de St. Denis, dans les Gestes de Philippe Auguste*, tome xvii., p. 354. (Bouquet, *Hist. de la France*.) Surely this would appear the earliest derivation of the term "cant."

⁽²⁾ *Sub an.* 1214.—"Velites. *Enfans perdus*, milites, qui prima praelia tentabant." (Du Cange, v. *Ribaldi*.)

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, 1202.

word for depraved characters, and hence the derivation of our terms "ribald" and "ribaldry," and, perhaps, "rabble." "Tuez toute cette ribaudaille," exclaimed King Philip, at Crecy, in bitter derision of the unsuccessful effort of the Genoese cross-bowmen. In the household of the kings of France there was an officer styled "*Roi des Ribauds*," a sort of Provost-Marshal, who had special jurisdiction over the *basse classe*. This unscrupulous functionary was often found an useful appendage to royalty:—"Le Roi de France fit venir le roi des ribaus et dit, 'Délivrez-nous de tels et de tels.'" ⁽¹⁾ Brigans was another name for those men who fought in the humblest ranks of the army:—"Si trouvèrent qu'ils étoient bien six mille armures de fer, et huit mille, que *brigands*, que *bideaux*, que autres poursuivans l'ost." (Frois., l. i., p. i., ch. cix.) Troops were paid in ratio to their equipment; and as this class, as well as the other just mentioned, was for the most part unprovided with personal defences, and armed only with such weapons as they could lay hands upon—

"L'un tient une épée sans feurre, ⁽²⁾
L'autre un maillet, l'autre une hache"—

(*Guiart*, v. 6,635.)

it follows that soldiers of this grade received small remuneration for their military services. The consequence was, that their poverty drove them to repeated acts of depredation, whereby they have perpetuated their name in its worst sense, as a synonym with

⁽¹⁾ Froissart, i., p. 325.

⁽²⁾ *i.e.*, a scabbard.

robber. Their name became attached to the brigandine, an inexpensive and light cuirass, composed of small plates of iron, fastened upon quilted leather or linen, well calculated for stealthy habits, as it escaped observation, and was so pliable as to admit of the free use of the limbs. Brigands were not, however, invariably ill-provided, as where 900 French brigands, all fresh and armed with lances and pavises, arrived and turned the tide of victory. They broke the English archers, "car leur trait ne pouvoit entrer en eux, tant étoient forts et bien pavischés." ⁽¹⁾ The long knife seems to have been the distinctive weapon of these irregulars. From their light equipment they were valuable as skirmishers, and for operations where dashing and celerity of movement were requisite. They were, in fact, the Zouaves of the Middle Ages. They were employed in great numbers, ⁽²⁾ and so useful were they that sometimes the action was suspended until they arrived:—"Les François attendoient leurs brigands, pour eux faire assaillir et escamoucher contre les archers" (*Ibid.*, p. 405); for, as they were all on foot, they could not, of course, get up as soon as others who were on horseback.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, we find a king of France starting forth as a military reformer. In fact, so important was the movement which he initiated, affecting, as it did, the whole internal policy of his country, that revolution is the fittest word to

The First
Standing
Army.

⁽¹⁾ At Nogent-sur-Seine in 1359. (Froissart, i. 406.)

⁽²⁾ Froissart, i., p. 97.

describe it. Charles VII., availing himself of the reputation which he had acquired by his successes against the English, and taking advantage of the impressions of terror which such a formidable enemy had left upon the minds of his subjects, was thus enabled to execute that which his predecessors would not have dared to attempt.⁽¹⁾ He had, doubtless, seen the advantage which the professed soldier maintained over the unskilled feudal servitor; his country again bore painful evidence of the evils of letting loose in society those hired men of war, when hostilities had ceased. His first operation—and it was a bold stroke—was to disband the entire army; but his precautions were so well taken that no evil resulted from it, and the men were not able to congregate and form themselves into *routes* and companies.

After this he made selection of “fifteen captains,” who should organise fifteen companies, or rather troops, for they were exclusively cavalry, composed of the best men, selected from the whole of the army. Each troop consisted of 600 men. The whole force consisted, therefore, of 9,000 men;⁽²⁾ and this was the nucleus on which the Royal army of France was formed.

These men the king engaged to keep on permanent pay. The Crown revenues at that time were small, but he found that householders were willing to be taxed for the support of this force, which, after the

⁽¹⁾ See Robertson's *Charles V.*, vol. i., sect. ii.

⁽²⁾ *Milice Franç.*, tom. i., liv. iv., ch. iv.

late troublous times, bore on its face the enforcement of order and loyalty, and consequently the prosecution of commerce and the guarantee of civil liberty. ⁽¹⁾ Three years after this—viz., in 1448—he organised a body of 16,000 infantry.

But an important result, derived from this change in the military administration of the State, was, that as the strength of armies came to be estimated only by the number of disciplined men which they contained, so, naturally, the feudal nobles lost their influence, and in less than a century they and their tenants—though sometimes summoned to the field, according to ancient form—were considered as an incumbrance rather than an assistance, and were viewed with contempt by soldiers who had acquired experience in the operations of continuous service. ⁽²⁾ Thus the military regulations of Charles VII., by establishing the first standing army in Europe, occasioned a social revolution.

Another innovation, introduced by Charles's son and successor, Louis XI., was the employment of Swiss troops, the best disciplined and most formidable infantry at that time in Europe. ⁽³⁾ In 1480, he took 6,000 of them into his pay. The infantry of

⁽¹⁾ "Les gens d'armes d'ordonnance estoient paieez par les païs et y faisoient résidence en temps de paix; vivoient sans aucune pillerie; les peuples les y vouloient bien et les aymoient; et faisoient requeste au roy de les faire loger et tenir païs où ils prenoient leur solde," &c. Speaking of their dress, he says, "leurs hoquetons estoient de cuir de cerf, ou de mouton et de draps de couleurs." (*Eloge de Charles VII.*, ch. iii., quoted in Michel's *Les Français en Écosse*, i., p. 124.)

⁽²⁾ Robertson's *Charles V.*, vol. i., sec. ii., p. 94.

⁽³⁾ Müller, *Histoire des Suisses*, tom. iv., ch. viii.

English,
Scotch, and
Irish in French
Service.

the great army which Charles VIII. led into Italy, in 1494, was composed of Swiss and Gascons.⁽¹⁾ There were also "Gensdarmes Anglais" and Scotch and Irish brigades in the pay of France. The Scotch were highly favoured by the confidence reposed in them by the French kings. A company of Scotch bodyguards was in existence at Paris in Charles VII.'s time, and had precedence over all the other Gardes du Corps, and enjoyed great privileges.⁽²⁾

There was also a company of Gensdarmes Anglais, Roman Catholic soldiers, whom Lord George Hamilton obtained leave to embody and bring over to the service of the French in 1667. This corps was not exclusively English, for Scotch and Irish were mixed up in it. It probably retained afterwards only its name, and not its nationality, for its commanders, after the first, were all French. The Swiss continued in the service till the Revolution of 1830, when the last body of these admirable troops—faithful ever to the sovereign whom they served—fell gallantly fighting to the last.⁽³⁾

Other Continental nations gradually followed the example of the Kings of France, in the establishment

(1) Guicciardini, *Hist. of Italy*, vol. i., b. i., p. 137.

(2) See Michel, *Les Écossais en France*.—Also *Mil. Franç.*, ii., liv. x., ch. i. Daniel says that in his time this corps was Scotch only in name, but that in calling the roll, the privates retained the old Scotch form of answering to their names—viz., *hamir*; which the learned Jesuit explains as a corruption of *hhas hamier*, which means *me voilà!*" (I am here?)

(3) "De 1477 jusqu'à 1830, c'est à dire pendant 353 ans, 750,000 Suisses ont combattu et versé leur sang sous les drapeaux de la France!" ("Les Troupes Suisses aux Service étranger." *Revue Mil. Suisse*, for June, 1856.)

of a permanent armed force ; but no counterbalancing movement appears to have taken place in England, although the visible result produced by this organisation was the ultimate expulsion of the English from France, and the two countries may be said to have gone hitherto side by side in their military institutions. The insular position of this country was, probably, in a great degree the cause of this delay ; but, moreover, with the love of liberty which characterised the English people from an early date, there has ever been an inherent antipathy to the establishment of a standing army. The fearful strife of the antagonistic houses of York and Lancaster engrossed the attention of all Englishmen at home until the union of the factions in the person of Henry VII. In his reign the only foreign expedition was a military promenade to Boulogne and back again, and the only permanent force in England was the Yeoman Guard, instituted by that king, most likely in imitation of a corps of a similar character in France.

Henry VIII. was of a spirit very different to that of his prudent father. Being fond of show, he instituted the corps of Gentlemen Pensioners, an expensive but strong escort of cavalry, which did him good service in his expedition to France. The king superintended in person the siege operations before Terouenne and Boulogne ; but, although he evinced a gallant spirit, there were no manifestations of great powers of generalship. The English arms, however, sustained their prestige at Guinegate (the Battle of

the Spurs)⁽¹⁾ and at Flodden Field.⁽²⁾ Some old laws, enacted for the encouragement of archery, were revived and extended, and the English bowmen were ordered to carry halberts with them, which they stuck into the ground before them until they had discharged their arrows, and were then ready to engage in close fight with the enemy; and some additional privilege was granted to those who served abroad;⁽³⁾ but, with these exceptions, little improvement appears to have been made in military art, or in the defensive resources of the country.

Frequent musters, or arrays, were made of the people, and this precaution was thought sufficient for the defence of the realm; and as the king had then an absolute power of commanding the services of all his subjects, he could instantly, in case of danger, collect an army, undisciplined, but as numerous as he pleased. The City of London alone could muster 15,000 men.⁽⁴⁾

One great change took place in the government of

Lord-
lieutenants of
Counties.

⁽¹⁾ Lord Herbert's *History of Henry VIII.*

⁽²⁾ An elaborate description of this decisive victory is given in *Archæologia Eliana*, new series iii., p. 197 *et seq.*—The standard of William, Earl of Marishall, which is preserved in the Advocates' Library of Edinburgh, is almost the only relic of the battle of Flodden which has escaped the ravages of time, and come down to our own day.

⁽³⁾ 14 and 15 Hen. VIII., c. 15.

⁽⁴⁾ "The eighth of May, the citizens of London mustered at the Miles end, all in bright harness, with coates of white silke or cloth, and chaines of golde, in three great Battailles; the number was 15,000, besides whiffiers and other awayters, who in goodly order passed through London to Westminster, and so through the Sanctuary, and round about the Park of S. James, and returned home through Holborne." (Stow, ii. 577, A.D. 1539.)

counties in this reign—the appointment of lord-lieutenants to be the immediate representatives of the sovereign, superseding the commissions of array which the Crown, in earlier times, had been accustomed to issue. Before the creation of this office, the king appears to have communicated by writ or precept with the sheriff. “The earliest of these appointments,” says Sir Henry Ellis, “are to be recognised in the commissions ‘de arraiaione et capitaneo generali, contra Francos,’ issued for a large range of the counties of the kingdom, to the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and to the then Lord Russell, in 1545.” Blackstone, however, says: “About the reign of King Henry VIII. and his children, lord-lieutenants began to be introduced as standing representatives of the Crown, to keep the counties in military order; for we find them mentioned as known officers in the statute 4 and 5 Philip and Mary, ch. 3, though they had not been long in use, for Camden speaks of them, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, as extraordinary magistrates, constituted only in times of difficulty and danger.” It would seem, however (*vide* Rymer, vol. xv., p. 75, A.D. 1549-50), that lieutenants were not thoroughly instituted till the reign of Edward VI. Strype, in his *Annals* (vol. iii., p. 278), says that this year (1549) began the making of lord-lieutenants of the counties.⁽¹⁾

The only really permanent forces were the garrisons kept up in Ireland. These at first were chiefly composed of those who held lands there by grants

The
only Standing
Forces.

(1) *Archæol.*, xxxv., 351.

from the Crown; these were subsequently supplemented by small bodies of the king's levies sent over from this country, and their number was gradually increased.⁽¹⁾

Edward VI.

In Edward VI.'s time there were bands or troops of men-at-arms, which appear to have been kept up on permanent pay, probably in consequence of the discontent among the people which then prevailed. These were occasionally mustered and marched past before the king; and the command of the different troops appears to have been bestowed on most of the great officers of State, which they held irrespectively of their other offices. One of these great musters took place in 1551, of which Strype gives the following account: "The king was minded to see his standing forces, horse and foot, muster before him, and the rather that he might be in a readiness in case any rising might happen, as was apprehended by the discontented Duke of Somerset and his party. So there were letters written and directed to certain of the chief officers of the army to have the gendarmery and bands of horsemen, which were appointed there, in a readiness to be seen by his Majesty."

(1) "The first force that was established was in the 14th Edw. IV., when 120 archers on horseback, 40 horsemen, and 40 pages, were established by Parliament there, which, six years after, were reduced to 80 archers and 20 spearmen on horseback. Afterwards, in Henry VIII.'s time, in the year 1535, the army in Ireland was 300; and in 1540 they were increased to 380 horse and 160 foot, which was the establishment then. I speak this of times of peace, for when the Irish were in rebellion, which was very frequent, the armies were much more considerable." (*A Short History of Standing Armies in England, written by that Eminent Patriot, Thomas Trenchard, Esq. London, 1698.*)

In the succeeding reign of Queen Mary, no glory Calais Lost.
attended the English arms. On the contrary, Calais, the last of England's possessions in France, was lost, after it had been held by this country for more than 200 years, owing to the inertness of the Government at home, notwithstanding the warnings and urgent demands for succour from its gallant defender, Lord Grey.⁽¹⁾ Two acts were passed during this reign for the better defence of the realm, of which one regulated the musters of the militia, the other fixed the proportion of arms, armour, and horses to be provided by private individuals (4 and 5 Philip and Mary, stat. 2 and 3). By this latter any able-bodied man, who neglected to take up arms when called upon, subjected himself to the penalty of death.

The researches of the learned antiquary, Sir Henry Ellis, have presented us with a transcript of "Instructions given by the King and Queen's Majesties to their right trustie and right well-beloved cosen, the Erle of Bedford, appointed their Hignes Lieutenant of the Counties of Dorset, Devon, Cornwall, and their Citie of Exeter, the 17th daie of March, the fourth and fifth yeares of their Majesties' raignes" (A.D. 1557-8).⁽²⁾ This appointment corroborates Camden's assertion that lord-lieutenants

(1) In the State Paper Office is a copy of a letter from Queen Mary, dated Jan. 7, 1558, addressed to the special gentlemen in every shire, urging them immediately to raise men for the succour of Calais, "the chief Jewell of the Realme," and not to allow any exemption whatever. The chief jewel of the realm was, however, lost to England on the very day on which the letter is dated. (*Col. State Papers, Dom.*)

(2) *Archæol.*, xxxv., p. 350.

were extraordinary magistrates, constituted only in times of difficulty and danger.⁽¹⁾ For this was the date of the disasters abroad, and Philip's offer to attempt to regain Calais was declined by the English council, who preferred to fortify the coast of Devon, where Sir Henry Dudley menaced a descent, and to prepare an armament to surprise some important port on the French coast.⁽²⁾

Origin of
Chelsea
Hospital.

It must be urged, however, in vindication of the inglorious memory of Queen Mary, that she intended to do that which was not accomplished till the reign of Charles II.; for in her will, dated 30th March, 1558, she orders her executors to provide a house in London, with an income of the clear yearly value of 400 marks, "for the relefe, succour, and helpe of pore, impotent, and aged soldiers, and chiefly those that be fallen into extreme povertie, having no pensyon or other pretense of lyvyng, or are become hurt or maymed in the warres of this realm, or in onny service for the defense and suerte of their prince, and of their countrey, or of the domynions thereunto belonging."⁽³⁾

Queen
Elizabeth.

During the long reign of Elizabeth, considerable attention was directed to the state of the national defences. The principle of non-intervention was not in fashion in those days—it certainly was not among

(1) It would appear, according to Rushworth, i., p. 168, "that lord-lieutenants should have the nomination of their deputy-lieutenants," at the commencement of the reign of Charles I.

(2) Cotton. MSS., *Titus*, B. 2.

(3) Mary's will has been published for the first time by Sir Frederick Madden, in his *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary*, App., No. iv.

the merits that can be imputed to our good Queen Bess ; so she was obliged to yield, parsimonious as she was, to the necessity not only of making a large expenditure for protecting the kingdom from foreign aggression, but also for supporting by arms her partisans abroad.

England, France, and Spain were at that time the great performers on the stage of European politics. Each one had its own reasons for regarding the part played by the others with eyes of jealousy and mistrust ; neither desiring an open rupture, lest it should have the effect of producing a combination of the other two. Spain, possessed of immense territory and wealth, was plotting to extend her dominion farther. The widowed Philip had made proposals of marriage to Elizabeth, and exerted himself to bring about the restitution of Calais to England—which in honour he was bound to do, seeing that he was instrumental to its loss ; and also by interest, as he desired to interpose another power between the French and his possessions in the Low Countries ; and he even offered to continue hostilities against Henry II. of France for six years longer, provided that the Queen would bind herself not to conclude a separate peace during that period. But she wisely rejected the proposal.

The Political
State.

In France the war of religions had broken out, carried on—as all such wars ever have been—with the greatest cruelty and fanaticism ; it desolated that country for nearly forty years. Elizabeth, in supporting the cause of the Huguenots—doubtless the

one in accordance with her own feelings—thought she saw a chance of recovering some of the lost possessions of the English Crown in France. Havre-de-Grace and Dieppe were delivered into her hands by the insurgents; but the French Royalist army mustered in great strength, and drove the English forces out of them with considerable loss. A treaty of peace, somewhat humiliating to England, was signed (A.D. 1564), in which the subject of Calais was not even mentioned.

CHAPTER XII.

PARSIMONY OF THE QUEEN—ILL-REQUITED SOLDIERS—LEVIES FOR IRELAND
—PHILIP SENDS AN EXPEDITION THERE—SIR JOHN NORRIS—ESSEX
SENT OVER AS LORD PRESIDENT—HIS INEFFICIENCY—RAW LEVIES—
LORD MOUNTJOY SUCCEEDS TO THE COMMAND—IMPROVED ASPECT OF
AFFAIRS—6,000 SPANIARDS LAND—THEY CAPITULATE—WARFARE
IN THOSE DAYS.

ALTHOUGH the long reign of Elizabeth may be termed a peaceful one, there was a constant demand for troops, either against the Scots, to put down the repeated rebellions in Ireland, to assist the Huguenots, or the "Hollanders," in their insurrections, or to defend the kingdom against the threatened invasion of the Spaniards. The consequence was, that notwithstanding every expedition was conducted with all possible meanness, a considerable military expenditure was incurred, every fraction of which was begrudged by the Queen; and eminent statesmen, like Burleigh and Walsingham, were often at their wits' ends to extract wherewithal to keep the soldiers literally from starving. ⁽¹⁾

Treatment of
Soldiers.

With the small revenue which the Crown pos-

(1) "They" (the soldiers) "perish for want of victuals and clothing, in great numbers." (Leicester to Burghley and Walsingham, March 16, 1586: S. P. Office MSS.—Also, Wilkes to the Queen, 16th Feb., 1587: S. P. Office MSS.—"Memorial of things to be declared" (in Burghley's hand), Nov. 1587: S. P. Office MSS.)

sessed at that time, ⁽¹⁾ and with the example of the debts contracted by her father, brother, and sister, caution and economy were highly essential and praiseworthy. But the honour of the kingdom was impaired—nay more, the national existence was imperilled—by the niggardly provision made for the defences of the country by land and by sea; and many operations which might have added lustre and dignity to the Crown, were either rendered nugatory or wholly ineffectual by the false economy of the Queen.

It was, however, a glorious epoch for England, just emerging, as she was, from the gloom which for some while had obscured her; about to take a prominent place among nations. Elizabeth—an accomplished woman in an accomplished age—was, fortunately, surrounded by men who could render eminent services to their country, ⁽²⁾ and, however

⁽¹⁾ It is difficult to ascertain the precise amount of income possessed by Elizabeth. Mr. Motley computes it at half a million sterling. (*Un. Neth.*, i. 303.) Assuming this to be the sum received by her from all sources of revenue, it must be multiplied by ten to give it its present monetary value. Anderson, in his *Hist. of Commerce* (ii. 133), states that the annual profits of the kingdom arising from the Queen's manors, lands, escheats, &c., were £188,197. D'Ewes, writing in 1575 (*Journals*, p. 245), says the Queen found the realm grievously afflicted with debt, and was enabled to pay off some contracted by Henry VIII. Naunton asserts, however, that, "with all her avarice, she left more debts unpaid, taken upon credit of her privy seals, than her progenitors did take, or could have taken up that were a hundred years before her." (*Fragmenta Reg.*, p. 88.)

⁽²⁾ "The ocean is not more boundless than the men of note in her time, but though all of them cannot be reckoned, yet some of them must not be omitted; and to begin with the statesmen: Robert Earl of Leicester; Sir William Cecil; Lord Burleigh; as also Sir Francis Walsingham. Famous seamen were the Earl of Cumberland, the Lord Thomas Howard, afterwards Earl of Suffolk; and of meaner rank Sir John Hawkins, Sir Martin Forbisher, Sir Walter Raleigh,

self-willed and obstinate, she was sagacious and strong-minded. No greater proof of this latter, than not being dismayed by the dangers which for some time surrounded her.

Ireland, during the greater part of this reign, was in a state of chronic insurrection. In 1542 it had become nominally a kingdom, Henry VIII. having been proclaimed King of Ireland; previously, the Kings of England had only been styled Lords of Ireland. Sister by propinquity, but alien in race and religion, she was as much estranged from English rule as ever; and matters were so bad in Elizabeth's time, that Walsingham thought it no treason to wish the island, and all in it, buried in the sea.

Hostile Position of Ireland

Levies of troops for service in Ireland were consequently large and frequent in this reign; and for three or four years, an army of 20,000 men had to be maintained there, a large permanent force for those days. Naunton estimates the cost of that Irish war at not less than £300,000 per annum.⁽¹⁾

Philip of Spain "cherished the Irish rebellion,"⁽²⁾ and supplied arms and money, in like manner as the Queen of England had supported the disaffected in Scotland, the Protestants in France, and the revolted

Cavendish, Preston, Ryman, and (to name the worthiest last) Sir Francis Drake. Great commanders by land were Robert Earl of Essex, the Lord Willoughby, the Lord Gray of Wilton, Sir Francis Vere, Sir Roger Williams, Baskerville, Savage, and the honour of his family and our English nation, Sir John Norris," &c. (Baker's *Chron.*, 399.)

⁽¹⁾ *Fragmenta Regalia.*

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*

States of Holland; and in 1580,⁽¹⁾ he dispatched to Ireland a body of about 600 Spaniards and Italians, under the command of San Josefa, an Italian, who occupied Smerwick, in Kerry, and fortified it. But these troops, celebrated as they were for bravery and endurance, were not prepared for the climate and rough warfare of Ireland. They were at length abandoned by the arch-rebel Desmond himself, and surrendered themselves unconditionally, and most of them were summarily executed.⁽²⁾

Parsimony of
the Queen.

The Queen's ruling passion, parsimony—so often injurious to her interests—induced her, when the danger seemed past, to disband the army, leaving a force insufficient to overawe the kingdom. The result of this policy was that outbreaks were continually occurring, and the rebellion was scotched, but not crushed. The nature of the country, abounding in wood, bog, and mountains, rendered the suppression of an armed rebellion a matter of extreme difficulty under any circumstances; and the Queen's officers often found their best efforts paralysed by the want of means to follow up their successes. Sir John Norris, who commanded the troops in Ireland in 1599, a gallant soldier, and a general of great experience, died, it is said, of vexation, at not having been able to perform anything worthy of his former achievements.⁽³⁾ He, however, had nothing to reproach himself with. But Ireland was fatal to the reputation of Essex, Elizabeth's brave but incapable

⁽¹⁾ Digges, pp. 359, 370.—Camden, p. 475.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*

⁽³⁾ Camden, edit. 1688, p. 543.

Essex
appointed
Lord Deputy

favourite, who was most improperly appointed, in 1573, by the Queen to the chief command, when the rebellion had attained a very dangerous height, and when the Council had resolved that the war ought to be prosecuted with the most vigorous measures. The Queen granted to him greater powers than she had ever conferred on any previous lord-deputy; ⁽¹⁾ and, to ensure his success, she raised an army of 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse, and placed it at his entire disposal. These raw levies, summoned hastily from their homes, were no match for the wild kernes to whom they were opposed. The levies destined for service in Ireland were chiefly raised, for convenience of dispatch, in Cheshire and Lancashire. They are spoken of as "poore creatures thatt are more meete ffor the plow at home than ffor any servysse heare." ⁽²⁾ In one of his despatches to the Queen, Essex writes:—"These rebels are far more in number than your Majesty's army, and have (though I do unwillingly confess it) better bodies and (more) perfect use of their arms than those men your Majesty sends over." Two years of active service should have converted these English into disciplined soldiers; but hard usage, the damp climate, sickness, and general mismanagement, seem to have deteriorated their *morale* and *physique*, for in 1599 a considerable body of them had been put to flight at the Glins by an inferior number of the enemy, at which Essex was so enraged that he cashiered all the officers, and actually decimated the private

(¹) *Ibid.*, p. 569. (²) *Lancashire Lieutenantancy*: Chetham Society.

men.⁽¹⁾ The consequence of this was, of course, a requisition for reinforcements, which, nevertheless, the Queen hesitated not at once to dispatch to him.

But the army was thoroughly dispirited, and no good came of the campaign. Essex held a conference with Tyrone, in direct contravention of the Queen's commands; and he shortly after left Ireland for ever.

Lord Mountjoy
his Successor.

He was succeeded in his command by Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy—the right man for the place—and who would have been appointed before, but for the Queen's partiality for Essex. Ever on the spot where duty called him, he gave the enemy no rest. The presence of a capable and vigorous commander soon infused fresh life in the army; and no set of men could have behaved better than the English forces. Although the service was necessarily a hard one, we hear of no further complaints of the inefficiency of the raw material; and the Lord-President himself, writing at the conclusion of his labours, took occasion to say, "It hath been seldom heard that an army hath been carried on with so continual action, and enduring without any intermission of winter breathings."⁽²⁾

The difficulty of Mountjoy's position was greatly increased by the arrival of a well-appointed army of 6,000 Spaniards, who landed in October, 1601, at Kinsale and other ports, under Don Juan de Aquila. But notwithstanding the acknowledged competency

⁽¹⁾ Cox (Dr. R.), p. 421.—*Hibern. Anglic.*—The journal of this expedition is in Birch's *Mems. of Queen Elizabeth*, ii. 398, and *Nugæ Antiquæ*, 268.

⁽²⁾ *Pacata Hibernia*, ii. 699.

of Spanish officers, and the bravery and discipline of their troops, in a few months' campaign—during which some sharp encounters took place—the Spaniards sustained such losses that, finding they could no longer maintain their position, they asked for terms of capitulation, and the Lord-Deputy, glad to be rid of them, allowed them to re-embark with the honours of war. In two years from the time that he had assumed the direction of affairs, the chief rebels had either surrendered, been captured, or left the kingdom; and the insurrection was at an end. Thus the honour of terminating a contest which had continued for upwards of 400 years was reserved for the arms of Elizabeth, who received the account of this success just before the close of her reign. Much curious information is supplied in a work “composed while the actions were fresh in the memories of men, by the direction and appointment of the Right Hon. Earle of Totness, then Lord President of Mounster;”⁽¹⁾ and by it we are enabled to obtain an insight into the working of the military system of that day. The warfare consisted chiefly in the reduction of the fortified castles of the Irish land-owners, and in the pursuit of the rebels in their fastnesses. The English had an evident superiority in their cavalry, for we are told that the Irish had only “small horses, and the souldiers were unarmed, which doe only fight with half-pikes and saddles without stirrups.”⁽²⁾ No mention yet of dragoons, although that class of soldier would have been very useful in such campaigns, and

Warfare in
Ireland.

(1) Carew's *Pacata Hibernia*.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 345.

the French had employed them in their armies from the middle of the century. We hear of the "Regiment volant, appointed only to answer the first occasion, without doing any other duties,"⁽¹⁾ apparently a light *corps d'élite*, kept in readiness to act on the emergency of the moment; and there is much curious account of the clumsy practice of artillery, of "peesces that would not go off," and which are always alluded to in the feminine gender.⁽²⁾

One is sorry to find the conduct of gallant men tarnished by acts of duplicity, and even lying, which evidently at that time were not thought discreditable in the policy of war. The following curious account of the stealing of the Spanish despatches, and the subsequent open disavowal of the fact, is explanatory of this reflection:—

"About the 10th of February, Don Juan de Aquila, residing in Corke, while his troops were preparing to bee embarqued for Spaine. In this interim, a Spanish pinnace landed in the westernmost part of the province, and in her there was a messenger sent from the King to Don Juan de Aquila, with a packet of letters. The President having knowledge thereof, told the Lord Deputie, that if hee had a desire to know the King of Spaine's intentions, there was a good occasion offered; the Lord Deputie's heart itching to have the letters in his hands, prayed the President to intercept them, if hee could handsomely doe it; the President undertooke it, and having notice that the next morning

(1) *Pacata Hibernia*, p. 415.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 116.

the messenger would come from Kinsale to Corke, and knowing that there was but two ways by which hee might passe, called Captaine William Nuce unto him (who commanded his foote company) to make choise of such men as hee could trust to lie upon those passages, and when they saw such a Spaniard (whom he had described unto him) to seaze upon him, and as thieves to rob him both of his letters, horses, and money, not to hurt his person, but to leave him and his guid bound, that he might make no swift pursuit after them, and when they had delivered him of the letters to runne away. Captaine Nuce so well followed his instructions, as the Spaniard was taken in a little wood, and the letters brought at dinner time; Don Juan (if I doe not mistake) that very day dyning with him, who instantly carried them to the Lord Deputie, where at good leasure the packets were opened and read, which done, the President went to his house, leaving the letters with the Lord Deputie. The same evening, the Spanish messenger having been unbound by passengers, came to Don Juan de Aquila relating his misfortune in being robbed not five miles from the towne. Don Juan went immediately to the Lord Deputie, grievously complayning that the messenger was robbed by souldiers (as hee alledged).

“The Lord Deputie seemed no lesse sorry, but (said he) it is a common thing in all armies to have debauched souldiers, but he thought it to be rather done by some of the country thieves; but if the fact was committed by souldiers, it was most like to bee done by some

Irish men, who thought it to bee a good purchase (as well as the money) to get the letters, to shew them unto their friends in rebellion, that they might the better understand in what estate they were in. Don Juan, not being satisfied with this answer, desired the Lord Deputie to enquire of the Lord President (for his intercepting of them he had a vehement suspicion) whether hee had any knowledge of the matter, and so they departed. The next morning the Lord Deputie related to the President the complaint, and his answers. Don Juan, eager in the pursuit of his letters, came to know of the Lord Deputie what the President answered; the Lord Deputie answered him upon his fayth, that he was sure that the President had them not, which hee might well doe, for they were in his own possession. In conclusion, a proclamation was made, and a reward (in the same promised) for him that could discover the theeves, and a pardon for their lives granted that committed the fact, if they would come in and confesse it; with this Don Juan rested satisfied." (*Pacata Hibernia*, ii. 464.)

Another instance of treachery on the part of the English will be found when Captain Roger Hawie, "taking for his guard a serjeant with four-and-twenty foot," endeavoured to surprise the Castle of Blarney, by "going to hunt the buck in the parts neere adjoining," and, pretending to be hot and weary, were to call at the Castle in the way homeward and to ask for wine and usquebagh, "whereof Irish gentlemen are seldom disfurnished." The pseudo-hunting party was, however, refused admittance, and the plot failed. (*Ibid.*, 592.)

CHAPTER XIV.

DANGERS OF THE STATE—PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENCE—INVASION OF ENGLAND CONTEMPLATED BY PHILIP—PLAN OF FARNESE FOR THE LANDING—ARMADA ARRIVES—ENGLISH PREPARATIONS—DIRECTIONS TO LORD-LIEUTENANTS—SIR JOHN NORRIS TO COMMAND FORCES IN MARITIME COUNTIES—STATE OF DEFENCES AT PORTSMOUTH—DEFENCES ON THE THAMES—CORPS D'ARMÉES INSTITUTED—INEXPERIENCE OF ENGLISH TROOPS—COURAGEOUS CONDUCT OF THE QUEEN—VISITS TILBURY FORT—ATTACK THREATENED BY SPAIN EIGHT YEARS AFTER—COUNCIL SUMMONED—THEIR OPINIONS—RALEIGH'S POLICY.

IN 1571 matters were not pleasant in England. A spirit of discontent and disloyalty was general among the Roman Catholics and Puritans; ⁽¹⁾ the friends of the captive Queen of Scots were exerting themselves for her liberation, and a serious conspiracy was afoot, no less than that of killing or capturing Elizabeth. Philip of Spain was vehement in its support. ⁽²⁾ The conspirators had asked for the assistance of 6,000 arquebusiers for England, 2,000 for Scotland, and 2,000 for Ireland. Several emissaries arrived in England, at different times, with the purpose of ridding the world of the heretical queen. ⁽³⁾ In 1572 occurred the massacre of the Huguenots, on the night of the festival of St. Bartholomew.

Malcontents
in England

⁽¹⁾ Camden, i. 48.

⁽²⁾ *Correspond. de Philippe II.*, 1,038, quoted in Motley's *Dutch Republic*, ii., ch. vi.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*

Defence
Committee.

In anticipation of dangers to the State, "both inward and outward," it was high time that the Queen should look closely to her means of internal defence. A commission was consequently issued, enacted by her own authority, with the advice of the Privy Council. This lengthy document is given *in extenso* in Grose's *Mil. Antiq.*, vol. i., pp. 76—93. The original is preserved in the *Harl. MSS.*, Cod. 6,844. It is signed—

W. BURGHEY,	E. LYCOLN,
T. SUSSEX, ⁽¹⁾	R. LEYCESTER,
W. MILDMAY,	F. KNOLLYS,
T. SMITH,	

and was subscribed by the Council the last day of February, 15th Eliz., 1573. It is headed:—"Instructions for the executyon of the Commission directed to all the Justices of the Peace in the Countie of for general musters, and trayning, of all manner of persons, liable for the warrs, to serve as well on horseback as on foote."

Their
Instructions.

The following is a brief abstract of it:—The commission recites that the principal intent of the Queen's Majesty is to have perfect knowledge of the numbers, qualities, and sufficiency of all her subjects in each county. A general muster of men for the service and defence of her Majesty, her crown, and realm—against all attempts, both inward and outward—from sixteen years upwards, capable of bearing arms, is enjoined. From these, a sufficient number was to be selected,

(1) See also Introduction to *Lancashire Lieutenancy*, xxxiv.

and armed, and *trained*, at the reasonable expense of the shire; by which the public peace may be continued, which, by God's goodness, the realm at this time enjoyed, more than any other in Christendom.

As the musterings and trainings would take place in different parts of the shire, special commissioners are appointed to take charge of the divisions. It was to be left to their discretion to appoint another time of year for the training, if the present (February) should be considered unreasonable, having due regard to "the state of matters in other countries near to this realm."

No householder of any degree was to be exempt, except prelates, lords of Parliament, and members of the Privy Council. Other ecclesiastical persons and judges to send their servants, with all their furniture of armour and weapons, to be added to the muster of the laity. And for the purpose of increasing the number of able-bodied men, the commissioners shall cause the humbler sort of freeholders, franklins, farmers, or merchants, being not of sufficient means to provide one whole furniture of armour or weapons, to be treated withal by good persuasion, and for the love of their country, they be induced to join together to find the requisite equipment for a pikeman, an archer, or a harquebusier; and, furthermore, that they shall persuade all manner of rich farmers and freeholders to keep in their houses persons meet for archery, &c.

With great deliberation, the commissioners were to make choice of the fittest persons to be appointed captains and petty-captains, &c.

Inasmuch as the training and exercise of a multitude of people may seem costly and chargeable, and that it may not seem necessary in many places to have the whole numbers of the able people to be armed and weaponed, therefore the commissioners shall use their discretion, after they shall have made a muster of the whole shire, to consider and determine what may be a convenient number to be collected out of the total number, meet to be *sorted in bands*, and to be trained and exercised in such sort, as may reasonably be borne by a common charge of the whole country, &c.⁽¹⁾

Regard was to be had how to divide and distribute the use of the weapons, in the sorting of the bands, that there might be in every hundred footmen, at the least, forty harquebusiers and twenty archers, if it can be so conveniently arranged. Public games and matches were to be encouraged, so that the archers may be men of strength, and so the more able to shoot with the long bow.

The commissioners to appoint special persons in every hundred, or wapentake, to be named surveyors of the armour and weapons that shall belong in common to the parishes and townships. The rest of

⁽¹⁾ Here we have the origin of the "trained bands," which are so often mentioned, and played so conspicuous a part in after times. They were the "hablest" men, selected for their soldier-like qualities, and were drilled and exercised at the public charge, until they were reported fit to act as disciplined troops. In this reign, we first find the soldiers raised in counties called "Militia"—(see *Harl. MS.* 1,026, Art. 100, fol. 105)—a term which Jacob (*Law Dic.*) applies to the trained bands raised in counties, and under the direction of the lieutenancy.

the men, not being of the selected number, who were to be put into bands to be trained, were, nevertheless, to be reduced into certain bands of hundreds, under meet captains and officers, so that they might be in readiness also for general service, with arms and armour, if necessary.

In apportioning the amount of taxation, due regard was to be paid to spare as much as possible the poor husbandman, the cottager, and artisan, and to charge chiefly such as be rich, and not able to serve in their own persons; likewise strangers, not being natural-born subjects, it is reasonable to charge them, as they were not called upon to serve as others were.

Especial care was to be taken as to the providing of horses and horsemen, "one of the best strengths to be required for the defence of the realm, and that which is thought to be most decayed and imperfect, and most necessarily to be increased."

The commissioners were therefore enjoined to peruse carefully the number and state of "possessors" resident within their shire, to see whether those chargeable to find and have in readiness horses and geldings, both for lances and light horsemen, with armour and weapons proper for the same, as expressly prescribed by the laws,⁽¹⁾ are provided with the same.

Her Majesty could not believe that any one in a position to supply more horses, &c., than he is

⁽¹⁾ 4 and 5 Philip and Mary; a renewal of the 32nd Hen. VIII. as to keeping horses and armour.

assessed for, would refuse to do it in a matter which so closely concerns the surety and defence of the realm. The names of those who agree to this increase shall be certified to her Majesty and her council, to the intent that their good dispositions may be acknowledged. As to the recusants, the Queen must be forced to have an inquisition made of their goods and lands, when most likely their burden will be greater by order of the laws, than under the limit of the commissioners, besides the forfeiture of the penalties incurred for the time past, and the evil account and estimation of their backwardness.

The statute of the 27th Hen. VIII. for the breeding and increase of horses, &c., to be strictly enforced. The names of every one who consents to keep any horses and geldings are to be given, with the kinds of weapons, be it lance, or light-horseman's staff, or cases of dagges, according to the qualities of the persons.

In 1574 another set of "Instructions" was issued, addressed to the Earl of Bedford, the Lord-Lieutenant of the South-Western District.⁽¹⁾ It will be found printed in the *Archæologia* (vol. xxxv.), where a note of the learned transcriber, Sir Henry Ellis, calls attention to the circumstance, that in the second paragraph the cause which induced the Queen to issue them is said to have been occasioned by reason of "the doubtful proceedings of the French, many manner of waies, to the annoyance and danger of the realm." But there was no fear of invasion

(1) This is the same nobleman who was addressed in a similar capacity by Philip and Mary in 1557. (See before, p. 329.)

from France in 1574. France and England were in amity. The real cause is given in the commission itself, in which the instructions were enclosed, and which will be found in the latter part. The reasons really were, "the great preparations which the King of Spain was making by sea to send into the Low Countries," in going to which his fleet had to pass through the English Channel.

"ELIZABETH R.

"Instructions given by the Queen's Majesty unto her right trusty and right well-beloved cosen and counsellor, the Erle of Bedford, Lieutenant of her Counties of Devon, Cornwall, and her City of Exeter.

"Item. Because at this present, as the said Earl knoweth, Her Majesty is specially occasioned, by reason of the doubtful proceedings of the French, many manner of waies, to the annoyance and danger of this realm, to put the same with all speed in good order for defence thereof, and specially all parties thereof lying upon the sea-coasts, against such attempts or invasions as may be made. Therefore Her Majesty requireth most earnestly her said cosen immediately with all speed, upon the receipt hereof, to renew such good orders as by him were the last year taken upon musters for the putting of the whole force of both the said counties in such a readiness of all men for horsemen and footmen, and for armour, horse, weapons, and other necessary furniture, as the same may, by the direction of Her Majesty, or of her said cosen, best and most readily serve for the defence

of any sudden attempt, . . . and at this present there appeareth more cause to have the same, if it may be, in a larger force, and in more readiness. . . . Therefore Her Majesty, being by Almighty God ordained the Sovereign Queen next under Him of the whole state of the realm, and being desirous to preserve the same against the malice of all enemies, to the honour and surety of the same kingdom and defence of all her people, &c.

“Item. Besides the lack of furniture of armour, Her Majesty also perceiveth that in the whole realm there is lack of men exercised and trained in feats of war, either to wear their armour, to use their weapons, to march in order, to do such things as be requisite : therefore Her Majesty, by advice of her Council, will address certain honest, chosen captains, having knowledge, into divers shires, to be at the musters, and there to teach and train the people, as seemeth most convenient to be upon every holiday, in the afternoon, for two or three months space.

“Item. Because the counties of Devon and Cornwall lie upon the sea-coast, and on the part of the sea, hath adjoining the counties of Dorset and Somerset, like as Her Majesty giveth order to the counties of Wiltshire, Somerset, and Gloucester, to have good regard to give succours as need shall require to the aid of the said counties of Devon and Cornwall, and that also the south part of Wales shall do the semblable towards Cornwall upon any dangerous attempts upon the coasts, wherefore Her Majesty thinketh best that the said lieutenant or the

justices that be borderers shall confer, &c., as to measures.

"The armour is to be seen and worn upon the backs of the persons that shall wear them, and made fit for them; where any lack armour that ought to have it, they be commanded to provide it by a reasonable day, and that they be informed that they shall have the same of the Queen's Majestie's store upon reasonable prices, as set forth below.

"Finally, Her Majesty requirerth her said lieutenant the care and government of her said counties and city, to be preserved both in quiet from danger of mutinies and rebellions, and from offence of the enemies.

"The price of armor and artillerie:—

The armour for a demi-lance	liijs.	iiijd.
A corslett	xxxs.	
A currier, ⁽¹⁾ complete	xvjs.	viijd.
Harquebush, complete	xiiis.	
Dagge, complete	xvjs.	viijd.
A bowe of ewe	ijs.	vjd.
Liverie arrowes and shafte	xxijd.	
Morris pike	ijs.	
A demi-lance staffe	iijs.	iiijd.
A northerne staffe	ijs.	vjd.
A black bill	xvjd.	
A halberd	vjs.	viijd.
A murrion	vjs.	viijd.
Almaine rivette	xs.	
Sculler, the peece	vijd.	

"Item. Where we are given to understande of great preparation that the King of Spaine maketh by sea to sende into the Lowe Countries, we think it good providence, in respect as some unkindness that hath

(¹) A fire-arm like an arquebus, but with a longer barrel. See after, under "Hand Fire-Arms."

passed between us, to be careful for the conservation of our realme from all sodaine invasion; and therefore we will that with all speede you take order for the defence of our said counties and cittie, especially those parts thereof lying upon the sea-coasts, which be most subject to the dangerous attempts of forraine enemies. For your better direction herein, you shall, by our order, receive from one of our secretaries a copy of such letters as are written by our Privie Counsell to the justices of those shires that coast upon the sea, those onlie excepted that are presently commytted to your government, by the which you shall both perceave in what order of defence they are directed to put themselves in to withstand all forraine invasion, as also howe and in what manner they shall behave themselves towards the King of Spaine's navie as shall resorte unto our partes," &c.

It will be remarked that in both of these commissions there was no departure from the economical policy of the day, everything being thrown on the expense of the individual, while the Government offered nothing, excepting a supply of arms and armour from her Majesty's stores, perhaps at cost-price.

For twenty years the contemplation of invading England had been a favourite project in the mind of Philip II. The restoration of the Catholic religion in England was the ostensible motive. Pope Sixtus V. had for some years incessantly urged Philip to the enterprise; and it is remarkable that, within a year after the defeat of the armada, that pontiff solicited

the heretic Elizabeth to take up arms against Spain, and the favourite son of the Church. (Gregorio, *Vit. di Sisto V.*, l. iii., p. 427.) The Pope, perhaps, was the only Catholic who betrayed want of faith in the benedictions which he solemnly pronounced on the invincible armada. The wary Sixtus engaged, *as soon as the Spanish forces should be landed* in England, to advance a million of crowns towards defraying the expenses of the expedition (Muratori, *an.* 1588). He was, however, liberal in the distribution of crosses, medals, reliques, indulgences, and pardons. Muratori pointedly observes that the failure of the expedition was “*naufragò ogni speranza di rintuzzar l’orgoglio della Regina Inglese.*” Many matters had delayed its accomplishment; but at length, in 1586, the time seemed to have arrived when he was about to reap the harvest of his hopes.⁽¹⁾ Two or three years before, the Duke of Parma⁽²⁾ had forwarded to the King an account of the coasts, anchorages, and harbours of England, and he had expressed an opinion that the conquest of that country was not so difficult as to be considered altogether impossible.⁽³⁾ He proposed collecting in

(1) An early indication of this intention is contained in a letter, dated Chester, Dec. 20, 1567, from Richard Hurleston to the Earl of Pembroke, giving intelligence by good information of great preparations making by the King of Spain for the invasion of England; and adds, that certain gentlemen in Lancashire had taken a solemn oath not to come to the communion, and that they rejoice greatly at the report of a Spanish invasion. (Col. State Papers, Dom., quoted in *Lancashire Lieutenancy*, i., p. 24.)

(2) Alexander Farnese had succeeded to the dukedom of Parma at the death of his father, in 1586.

(3) MS. letter of Parma to Philip, April 20, 1586; quoted in Motley, *United Netherlands*, i. 527.

the Netherlands an invading force of 30,000 infantry, besides 500 light horsemen, with saddles, bridles, and lances, but without horses, as, in his opinion, it would be easier to mount them in England.

ma's Plan
Invasion.

He considered the most appropriate part of the coast for the landing would be between Dover and Margate. The country about Dover he described as populous, well wooded, and much divided by hedges; advantageous for infantry, and not requiring a larger amount of cavalry than the small force at his disposal; while the people there were domestic in their habits, rich, and therefore less warlike. It would be necessary to make immediately for London, which city, not being fortified, would be very easily taken. The Queen would probably fly, and everything would be left in utter confusion.⁽¹⁾ Such a force as has just been named, he proposed, should be assembled quietly in the Netherlands, and a flotilla of flat-bottomed boats prepared in various ports of his government for its transport.

These, he thought, might altogether escape the attention of the English Government; or, if seen, might be supposed to be preparing for action against the revolted provinces of Holland. For the success of this plan he urged two points to be vitally essential, fine weather and secrecy, for, obviously, such a flotilla could not breast a heavy sea; and Parma calculated that, in favourable weather, the passage might occupy from eight to twelve hours.

If the matter got wind, the Hollanders and Zea-

(1) MS. letter of Parma to Philip, just quoted.

landers, and English, with their armed ships, would destroy the whole expedition, which had not the least power of resisting an enemy at sea. Should his Majesty, however, contrary to his (Parma's) advice, deem it best to admit confederates in his cause, the whole thing would then be published abroad ; in which case the Queen of England would, doubtless, make every exertion for defence—probably hire foreign mercenaries, in addition to her English militia, and prepare a combined fleet of English and Netherlanders, men intimately acquainted with the coasts, which would add considerably to the difficulty of the landing ; and the enemy on shore, moreover, would have the advantage of being provided with cavalry. The king must provide such an armada as would defeat the combined fleet of English and Dutch, and which would escort his (Parma's) 30,000 men across the Channel.

Philip's heart was bent upon the conquest of England. He took his nephew's advice so far, that he collected in various parts of the Mediterranean an armada that might defy any combined fleet that could be brought to oppose it. But he admitted others to participate in so holy a crusade, and volunteers flocked to him from all parts. Such an expedition could not possibly exist without being talked about, but the king and his general, by extreme duplicity and downright falsehood, ⁽¹⁾ persuaded Elizabeth, almost up to the time that the armada was sighted off the Lizard's Point, that the armament was destined for other purposes, and that their intentions towards England

(¹) Motley, ii. 310.

were pacific; and Elizabeth hoped to the last that terms might be arranged, and that she might be spared the expenditure of so great a war.

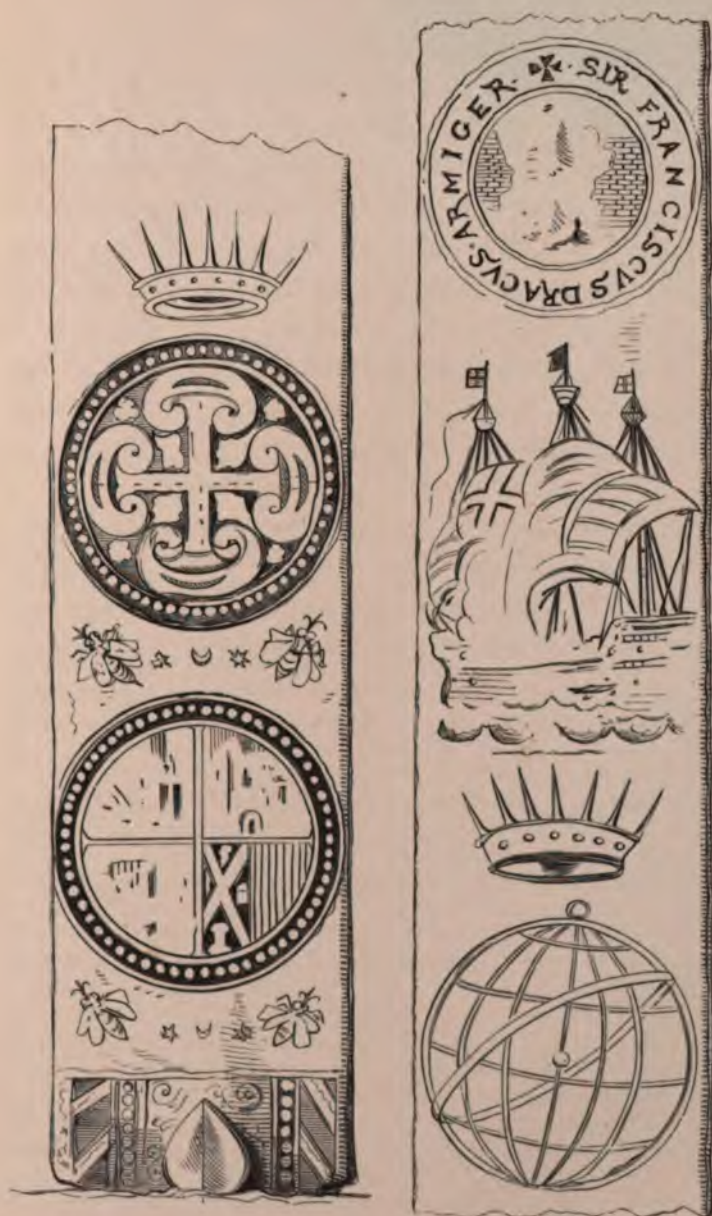
Casualties had prevented the departure of the fleet, but it required a more than wilful blindness to mistake the object for which it was preparing. Drake had been sent to cruise off the coasts of Portugal and Spain, early in the spring of 1587, and had succeeded in destroying a great amount of shipping and stores, which thereby delayed the departure of the expedition. The gallant sailor called this "singeing the King of Spaine's beard,"⁽¹⁾ and returned, bringing information of the vast preparations making for the invasion of England.⁽²⁾

It was not until July 12, 1588, that the fleet made its final start from "the Groyne" (Corunna); and never did the ocean bear a more gallant one than that which the Spaniards, in all the confidence of success, christened "Invincible."

It consisted of about 140 vessels of all sorts, most

⁽¹⁾ Barrow's *Life of Drake*, p. 256.

⁽²⁾ See his letter to Burghley in Strype's *Annals*, iii. 664.—A relic of this brave Englishman, which we, as a sea-faring race, must greatly esteem, is his sword, which has been handed down in a farm-house in Gloucestershire, a property which once belonged to him. The inscriptions, which are accurately represented on Plate XXXVII., corroborate the tradition. First, we have "Sir Franciscus Drake Armiger;" next, a man-of-war of his time; below that, the Mercator's globe, the badge which Queen Elizabeth ordered him to wear when he appeared at Court. This sword is now in the possession of the artist, Mr. Pritchett. In *Old England*, vol. ii. (Charles Knight), there is a portrait given of Drake (Plate No. 1,629), taken, as there stated, "from a painting at Nutwell Church." An original miniature by Hilliard, formerly at Strawberry Hill, is now in the possession of the Earl of Derby.



The inscription here given is taken from a Sword, which has been handed down in a farm-house in Gloucestershire as having belonged to Sir Francis Drake, and the ornamentation fully corroborates the tradition. The Sword is now in the possession of R. T. Pritchett, Esq.

of them heavy, unwieldy ships, many of them of great tonnage for those days⁽¹⁾, and it carried about 30,000 souls—seamen, soldiers, volunteers, and galley-slaves—and 2,630 pieces of artillery.⁽²⁾

It is difficult in these days, when the relative positions of nations are so completely changed—when England has become so powerful, and Spain bereft of so much of her grandeur—to realise “the full extent of the peril which England then incurred from the power and ambition of Spain, and to appreciate the importance of that crisis in the history of the

(¹) The writers of that age employed very inflated language in describing the Spanish fleet: that “the ocean groaned with supporting so enormous a weight,” and so forth; but the largest of these vessels would scarcely pass for third-rates in the navies of the present day. It is also a mistake to suppose that the Spanish ships were so much larger than those in the English navy, although the English ships were collectively far inferior in size, and their aggregate tonnage, of course, immeasurably less—viz., 57,868 tons, against 31,985. (See Appendix of Original Papers, li., in Strype.) Motley says, 59,120 (*Un. Neth.*, ii. 466). There was one English ship, the *Triumph*, of 1,100 tons, one of 1,000, one of 900, two of 800 (Murdin, pp. 615, 619, 621), and the largest Spanish ship was the galleon *St. Mark*, of 1,000 tons. (Appendix of Original Papers, li., in Strype.)—In the Registers of the Stationers’ Company (*vide Notes and Queries*, 2 S. xii., 101), there is *A Ballad of thoblayning of the Galeazza wherein Don Pedro Devalez was Chief, &c.* According to Stowe “this ship or galleon was of 1,150 tons,” with 304 soldiers and 118 mariners. It was sent by Drake into Dartmouth. (Edit. 1605, p. 1,251.)—The fleet which Philip de Valois equipped to oppose the invasion of Edward III., in 1340, was more numerous than the armada, both as to the number of vessels and men. Froissart says that he had 700 vessels and 40,000 men (liv. i., ch. 1.), and that 30,000 Frenchmen were killed. (*Ibid.*, ch. li.) “*Vide* the roll of the huge fleete of Edward III. before Calice, extant in the King’s great wardrobe in London, whereby the wonderfull strength of England by sea in those days may approve. The summe totall of all the English fleete:—ships, 700; mariners, 14,151.” (Hakluyt’s *Voyages*, i. 121.)

(²) App. of Original Papers.—Motley says 3,165 guns.

world.”⁽¹⁾ We must recollect that Spain was then the first military and naval power in the world; that Ireland was in rebellion against England; that the Queen of Scots had just been executed by Elizabeth’s order; that Belgium was in possession of Spain, presided over by Alexander Farnese, indisputably the most consummate general of the age; that France, although torn with civil war, was actively employed in extirpating the reformed religion; and that Pope Sixtus V. had signed a new bull by which Elizabeth was declared to have forfeited the crowns of England and Ireland.⁽²⁾ Amidst such threatening elements, how far was England prepared to avert the coming storm? For the first time in their annals the Crowns of England and Scotland, most fortunately, were not antagonistic. James, rejecting the flattering offers of Philip, and all suggestions of revenge, determined to adhere to the league with England, and to act in concert with Elizabeth, against the common enemy of the Protestant interest. On the 1st of August, 1588, on the approach of the armada, he wrote a letter to the Queen, in which he expresses his anxiety to be employed in the defence of England, that the Queen’s “adversaries may have ado not with England, but with the whole ile of Bretayne.”⁽³⁾ The United Provinces of Holland was the only foreign power to which Elizabeth could apply for active assistance.

(1) Creasy’s *Decisive Battles*, p. 347.

(2) Bechetti, xii. 221, quoted by Lingard.

(3) Letters of Elizabeth and James VI., published by Camden Soc., No. 46, p. 51.

They undertook a most important service—the blockading of the Scheldt and Spanish-Dutch ports, which was no less than shutting up Parma and all his army. The actual defence of the country was committed to the navy, which, although numbering but thirty-four Queen's ships, was soon largely augmented by private sources. ⁽¹⁾ Hawkins, Drake, Frobisher, and others, had commands there—men who, in a piratical sort of way, had acquired experience, and displayed that energy and contempt of danger, and that spirit of enterprise, which have ever since been the characteristics of the British sailor. It is a curious fact, evincing either the Queen's contempt of danger, or her habitual parsimony, or both, that when, in June of that year, an unconfirmed report reached England that the Spanish Armada had been dispersed by a storm in the Bay of Biscay, Elizabeth immediately despatched orders to the Admiral of England, Lord Howard of Effingham, to dismantle the four largest ships in the Royal navy. Fortunately he ventured to disobey, offering to bear the expense out of his private fortune; and sailed on a cruise to reconnoitre the actual position of the Spanish fleet. ⁽²⁾ But a strong breeze from the south-west compelled him to return. The enemy took advantage of the same to leave Corunna; and the English admiral had scarcely moored his ships in Plymouth har-

⁽¹⁾ In all a force of 117 ships, having on board 11,120 men. (Original List in the State Paper Office.)

⁽²⁾ Camden, 366.—Stowe, 745.

bour again, before the Spaniards were reported off the Lizard.⁽¹⁾

On land, the preparations to stop the progress of the enemy, should he have succeeded in effecting a landing, were of the most meagre description. A military council was established,⁽²⁾ and all the male population from eighteen to sixty was ordered to be enrolled. The lord-lieutenants received most minute instructions to organise companies of militia, to appoint officers, and to provide arms at the expense of the counties.

There is, fortunately, no lack of materials to ascertain these points in this episode of our national history: researches in the State Paper Office alone have brought to light a mass of information; but a great facility is afforded by a digest of the measures then taken for the defence of the country, prepared two hundred and ten years afterwards, and compiled by order of the Ministry of that day.⁽³⁾ For curiously enough, when this country was, in 1798, placed in

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ort.

(1) Murdin, 615-621.—Also, *A Genuine and most Impartial Narrative of the Glorious Victory obtained by her Majesty's Navy, &c.* Dedicated to Lord Howard of Effingham. Translated from the Italian of Petruccio Ubaldini, 1740.

(2) The Council of War held on the 27th of November, 1587, included Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Grey, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir Thomas Leighton, Sir John Norris, Sir Richard Grenville, Sir Richard Bingham, Sir Roger Williams, and Ralph Lane, Esq. (Tytler's *Life of Raleigh*.)

(3) "Report on the arrangements which were made for the internal defence of these kingdoms, when Spain, by its armada, projected the invasion and conquest of England; and application of the wise proceedings of our ancestors to the present crisis of public safety." By John Bruce, Esq., Keeper of the State Papers. (Grenville Library, Brit. Mus., Nos. 16,245 and 16,246.)

somewhat similar circumstances, anticipating an invasion by the French, the English Government was led to inquire into the measures of defence taken both before and after the time of the armada; and various extracts from the archives of State were directed to be made, and they were to be reported to the then Home Secretary, Henry Dundas. ⁽¹⁾ These collections form two octavo volumes. They were printed for, and distributed to, the members of the Government only; and their secrecy was then thought of such importance that the one referring to the defences made in 1596, when a second invasion of the Spaniards was apprehended, has the following notice written on the fly-leaf opposite the title-page:—

The accompanying Report, though printed for facilitating perusal, is neither published, nor intended for publication; and it is therefore requested that it may not be left open to common inspection.

HENRY DUNDAS.

As the defence of the country is an ever-present question, it will be interesting to learn, even at some length, the exertions made by our ancestors, 272 years ago, to defend themselves in a crisis of their history, when the spirit of the nation was roused, as it was two centuries after, and the whole people “were thoroughly irritated to stir up their whole forces for their defence . . . so that in a very short time, all the whole realm, and every corner, were furnished with armed men, on horseback and on foot;

(1) Created Viscount Melville in 1801. He introduced a bill to regulate the employment of the volunteers in 1798, and also one to enable the English militia to serve in Ireland.

and these continually trained, exercised, and put into bands, in warlike manner, as in no age was ever before in this realm." (1) Notwithstanding this declaration, Mr. Bruce, the compiler of the Official Report, states, as one of the results of his *personal* inquiries, that although in some counties the lower and middling orders were well disposed, and had made laudable exertions to fulfil the Queen's injunctions, yet that several of the higher orders, under the pretext that the danger was not so immediate, had either refused to furnish the necessary aids or to perform their services. (2)

The report proceeds to state that, in 1586, directions were given to the lord-lieutenants requiring them to issue orders to the different captains in their lieutenancies to meet at appointed places on or before the 20th of March, in order to make up their musters of men and of arms; to deputy-lieutenants, to mark out to the captains the posts which they were to occupy, and to arm these posts with batteries, dig pits, and plant stakes, to stop the progress of the enemy if he landed; to assign stations for the horses and field-pieces; to fix on places for the powder-magazines; to appoint days for the horses to be trained, and to name the places of rendezvous, taking care to have roads and fords repaired, and cross-bars ready to stop the enemy after landing.

(1) Contemporary letter in the Harl. MSS., quoted in Southey's *Naval History*.

(2) *Report, &c.*, John Bruce.—See *Letter from the Earle of Sussex to the Lords of Counsell*, 30th Nov., 1587: "It maie please y^e Hon^{or}, at my retorne into the countrie, I came by Basinge, and there having conference with my Lorde Marques of Winchester, we agreed to reviewe the wholl shire o^{ur}selves."

This general instruction was followed up in 1587 by an order for completing the musters of the forces in the different counties ; and for having them fully accounted, and in readiness to march on the first notice, requiring at the same time that returns should be made of the amount of the musters both of men and arms to her Majesty in council. A copy of one of these is given below :—

“After our very hearty commendation, the Queen’s Majesty by sundry ways, at this part, informed of the great preparations now partly made ready in Spain for the furniture of a mighty army, with a navy to come partly to the seas, and having great cause to doubt of some attempt thereby to be made against some part of her dominions, both thought it necessary that the whole realm should forthwith be well guarded and in readiness, with such strength as God hath given to her Majesty both by land and sea ; and therefore amongst other means which her Majesty mindeth to use, by having an army upon the seas, her pleasure is, that you having charge, as her Majesty’s deputy-lieutenant,⁽¹⁾ over the County of Essex, should be hereof advertised, and that you should presently, without any delay, use all good and speedy means, first to consider of such former instructions and directions as you have received for the putting of the forces under your charge in strength, and therefore to cause all persons heretofore mustered to be in readiness with their arms and weapons, so as they may,

Instructions o
Council.

(1) Doubtless, in the absence of the lord-lieutenant.

with their captains and leaders, upon all sudden warning or occasion, speedily repair to such place, as by former instructions they ought to be; and if any be dead or departed out of the country, to appoint new sufficient persons in their places," &c.

"Your very loving friend,

"W. BURGHLEY.

"From the Court of Richmond, 10th Oct., 1587.

"To the Deputy-Lieutenant of the

"County of Essex."

In order that the Queen's orders, so far as regarded the maritime counties, might be more fully explained and understood, instructions applicable to each county were sent on the 10th of February, 1587, requiring that the number of deputy-lieutenants should be completed; that, under the warrant of her Majesty, orders should be issued for putting the men in array and in readiness at their different stations; that convenient places should be assigned to five general-captains (as they were termed), who were made answerable for the effective numbers of 500 each, and to two additional captains for 250—making, in the whole, a band or regiment of 3,000 foot, to be reviewed and exercised, and in readiness to go on service, on the sea-coasts, under the orders of the general commander of the coast to be afterwards named by her Majesty; that the five captains should likewise muster the bands of horsemen, to be divided into bands of fifty for each cornet, and appoint places of muster for the same; that the whole may be

returned in good muster-rolls, as ready for service, and exercised at least twenty-five at a time, to qualify them for duty ;⁽¹⁾ that a survey of the places where the enemy may land should be taken, and means provided more speedily to convey, under proper leaders, the forces to resist him, and directions given to raise ramparts, not only against his landing, but also against his progress in the country ; that a proper number of pioneers should be raised to act on this duty ; that every justice of the peace, being of quorum, should furnish two horsemen, and any other justice one ;⁽²⁾ that the towns, with the counties, should provide the necessary store of ammunition at a reasonable price ; that beacons should be erected on the sea-coast, and men placed near them to watch the motions of the enemy's ships ; and that posts⁽³⁾ should be in readiness to carry information of his approach ; and that each band of 500 footmen should be formed into a regiment, attended by 700 horsemen, besides the horsemen furnished by the justices of the peace, the whole properly arrayed and in good order,

(1) In another place we find the hours for drill laid down : " And that the selected bands be continually exercised and trained, as well as furnished, upon the Sundays and holydays, after evening prayers."

(2) Here is a distinction made between justices of the quorum and those of the peace only. Justices of the peace are those appointed by the king's commission, to keep the peace of the county where they dwell, and are rather commissioners of the peace ; of whom, some of the greater quality are of the *quorum*, because business of importance may not be dispatched without the presence of them, or one of them. (Jacob, *Law Dict.*) Being " of the greater quality," those of the quorum enjoyed the questionable privilege of having to furnish two horsemen, those of the peace only one. (*Vide Lanc. Lieutenancy*, p. 185.)

(3) i.e., post-horses, or post-men, as the case might be.

to withstand any attempt that the enemy may make to land or to advance.

topographical
directions.

In April, 1588, the Queen appointed Sir John Norris, with full power, to direct the arrangements for the internal defences of the maritime counties of Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk; and the lord-lieutenants, or their deputies, were directed to afford him every possible assistance in carrying out his directions. This officer was to decide on stations to which the guards of the coast might, if overpowered, retreat; and form an army to harass the enemy's march, or resist his entrance into the interior of the country. These instructions were accompanied with topographical directions: these were drawn up with great care and trouble, for nothing seems to have been overlooked. Those for the county of Norfolk may be selected as a specimen.

protection of
Norfolk.

They set out with describing the points on the east coast, where the attack might be expected, viz.: Waburne Hoope, Cleyhaven, Wanham, Winterton, and Yarmouth, at each of which, for the protection of the shipping as well as of the coasts, where the depth of water would admit the enemy's vessels, ramparts were ordered to be erected, defended by trenches, reaching from one salt-marsh to another. The causeways were to be taken up, parapets to be built, the old hythe⁽¹⁾ to be entrenched, and defences raised, at

(¹) Hythe means landing-place, as before stated, see p. 38.—Thus Stowe, writing of the gates of London, says: "Ripa Reginae, Queene's-bank, or Queene-hithe, may well be accounted the very chief and principal gate of this city, being a common stand or landing-place," &c. (*Survey of London*.)

the distance of a mile from Lynn, where the channel was narrowest, and defended by a proportion of cannon. On the approach of the enemy, the bridges on the Ouse were to be taken down, and the banks cut, to impede his progress. Bodies of horse and foot were to patrol and obstruct his march, galling him at the same time with the ordnance from Winterton and Bromhall.

For the purpose of carrying out these measures, the shire was to be divided into districts, and the forces placed in such stations as might enable them most easily to concentrate at Yarmouth. The detachments of foot were to consist of 300, one half trained, and the other irregulars, accompanied by seventy-three pioneers and twenty carriages, each carriage to be conducted by two men.

The directions further minutely specify the commanders, and the proportion of forces under them; who are to act, at successive times, as reliefs to each other; point out the mode of giving the alarm by beacons, on which fires were to be lighted; describe the lines in which the trained men, under the deputy-lieutenants, were to advance against the enemy; and enjoin the multitudes to avoid assembling, or creating confusion or disorder.

In the event, however, of the enemy reaching Waburne, such strength as the county could assemble was to be brought up against him; but if unable to retard his progress, the foot and horse were to retire, for the protection of the important city of Norwich; take up a position on the heights of Mountesurry,

which commands the city, and defend the town till an army can be marched from the neighbouring counties to the relief of the place. Should, however, the enemy disembark between Yarmouth and Bromhall, the forces were to take post at Flegge, and defend the bridges; or, if untenable, to break them down: should he take the road by Thetford, towards London, the forces of Norfolk were to hang on his rear, harass his march, and prevent his foraging parties laying waste the country. The magazine was to be at Norwich; and on the approach of the enemy the corn was to be burnt down, the cattle driven inland, and bridges and roads broken up, to impede his march. In case the attack be made on the coast of Lynn, the governor was to take care that no horses or carriages be left behind to be seized by the enemy (p. 29).

Portsmouth was in those days, as in the present, a point of great importance. It is to be hoped that its necessities were attended to before August, 1588, otherwise its powers of offence and defence must have been extremely limited. In a letter, dated Portsmouth, November 1, 1587, Lord Sussex gives an amusing account of the state of the ordnance there:—

“I am most heartily and earnestly,” writes he, “not only to require, but also for the defence of the realm, as duty leadeth me, to charge your honours (the Lords of the Council) to be a means for the present sending down of the gunners, without whom I wish the ordnance at the Tower again, the plat-

forms to be repaired, and that of the round tower to be new made, for that it is so old and rotten as, on the day of Her Majesty's coronation, I durst not shoot off the piece; which place is the only chiefest for the defence and safeguard of the haven."

It is a curious fact to learn that in February, 1586, the whole sea-board extending from Cornwall to Kent was only defended by thirty-six pieces of ordnance, being six for each southern county.⁽¹⁾

But, perhaps, the most important position to be guarded was the line of coasts on each side of the mouth of the Thames. This subject had attracted the notice of Government, as the charges for chains and forts guarding the Medway were made up in January, 1588, amounting to £1,470. These defences had, of course, two objects in view—the protection of the shipping in the river, and security against the enemy's approach to the capital.⁽²⁾ For these purposes a great chain was fixed to cross the river, at the opposite point from Upnor Castle, with wood-work to cover two large wheels for mooring it; and

Defence of the
Thames.

(1) "Caste Yron Ordinance, 36 peces, viz.: 2 sacres, 2 minions, and 2 fawcons, for each one of the aforesaid counties," &c. (Report, App., xvii.)

(2) Extract of a letter from Sir Francis Walsingham to Lord Burleigh. (Harl. MSS., 6,994, art. 69.)

... "Yesterday the Lord Chamberlain, assisted by Mr. Vice Chamberlain, calling unto them Sir Jo. Norris and Sir Thos. Layton, had some conference about the strengthening of the river of Thames, against any foreign attempt: whereupon it was resolved that they should go down to Gravesend to view the river, and to consider in what apt place it may be defensible to stop the enemy. . . .

"At the Court, the xvij. of July, 1588.

"Yr. St. to command,

"FRA. WALSHINGHAM."

lighters were provided, with cables and anchors, for buoysing it up. ⁽¹⁾ "On both sides of the river," says a contemporary writer, "fortifications were erected according to the prescription of Frederick Genebelli, an Italian; and there were certain ships brought to make a bridge, though it were very late first." ⁽²⁾

Armada in
Sight.

Late, indeed, as will be clear from the extract of the letter subjoined, the armada having been sighted off England on the 20th of July! The result of the inspection appears not to have been satisfactory to the Lord-General, who forthwith called in the assistance of Mr. Peter Pett, of her Majesty's dockyard, at Deptford; and under his advice the proposed barrier was strengthened. But by a letter from Leicester to Walsingham, dated "at Leicester House, the 22nd of July, at xi. of the clock at night, 1588," ⁽³⁾ it appears that nothing had been done for the defence of the river. On the next day he writes again to the Secretary of State, giving particulars of his visit "to peruse" the fort at Gravesend and at Tilbury. In the former, he reports he "did not find one platform to bear any ordinance, neither on the ground nor aloft;" of the latter he says, "I find it further out of order than the other, save that there be some better peces of

(1) "For the greate chaine of iron with the workmanshippe and other charges incidente for the bringing thereof from London to Chatham amounteth to the somme of £250." (Report, App., xi.)

(2) Hakluyt, i. 595.—An interesting account of the performances of the eminent engineer, Gianibelli, at the siege of Antwerp (A.D. 1585), is given in Motley's *Un. Netherl.*, i., ch. v., p. 189.

(3) Cruden's *History of the Town of Gravesend*, p. 236.

artyllery; but not a platform to carry y^e least pece." He appends a pressing requisition for pioneers, to be accompanied by fifty or sixty wheelbarrows at the least, and urges that the forts be provisioned "with bear and befe," for the sustenance of their garrisons. Next day he writes that he has "putt these fortes in as good strength as tyme wyll permytt."

Whatever charges of inefficiency may be sustained against the Lord-General, a want of activity was not one of his faults on this occasion.

The clergy in the different dioceses were called on each to furnish a horseman, if his income amounted to £100 per annum; dignitaries and chapters, in numbers proportioned to their revenues; the total required being 331: or, in lieu of the horseman, £25 was to be exacted as an equivalent.⁽¹⁾

On the north-east coast, Lord Huntingdon had the chief command; 3,000 men were stationed along the coast, another body of 3,000 was kept in reserve, to move on any point attacked; and 6,000 foot, with 2,000 horse, constituted the main army. A portion of this force was directed to defend the fortifications of Tynemouth and Hartlepool.

The charge of placing the important coasts of Essex and Kent in the best state of defence was entrusted to Sir Thomas Scott⁽²⁾ and Sir James Hales.

(1) Official Report.—Also see *Lancashire Lieutenancy*, p. 182.

(2) Sir Thomas Scott, Knt., of Scott's Hall, in Kent, was sheriff of that county in the 18th of Queen Elizabeth, and in the 13th and 28th, knight of the shire in Parliament. In 1588 he was appointed

The former officer stationed 250 men at Canterbury, from whence parties might be detached to oppose the enemy on his landing, and took up his own station at Shorncliffe; while the latter, with the horse, ranged along the Downs.

Protection for
Dorsetshire.

Another point of apprehended attack was the coast of Dorsetshire, where, it is stated, every measure and precaution was taken, both to prevent the landing and progress of the invaders. Beacons were erected at Sutton Poyntz, Rydgeway, and Blagdowne, upon firing of which, posts were to be sent in every direction to assemble the whole force at Weymouth and Melcombe Regis. A barrier was to be made at Wareham Bridge to obstruct the enemy, in case the retreat of the Queen's troops should be necessary. Should the beacon at Bubdowne be fired, the forces in Somersetshire were to march immediately to Dorchester; if the one at Lewzon be fired, the forces of Devonshire in like manner were to march. Should that at Melbury be fired, those of Wiltshire were to march. Strict orders were given that these beacons should not be fired incautiously, so as to cause false alarms.

It was determined that at Milford, whose haven afforded the best opportunity of disembarking, there should be assembled 2,000 foot and 200 horse. Plymouth was still more anxiously provided with

commander-in-chief of the Kentish forces. The day he received his appointment from the Council, so much was he beloved in the county, that he was enabled to collect and send to Dover 4,000 armed men. (*Vide Hasted's Kent*, iii. 292; and the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1547-80.)

the means of defence, its proximity to Spain rendering it likely to be selected. There, accordingly, were stationed the 5,000 men of Devon and Cornwall, besides the force of the Stannaries, which Raleigh commanded as lord-warden. It was probably at this crisis that the Queen conferred upon him the office of Lieutenant-General of the county of Cornwall, and it was recommended that the greatest assiduity should be employed in disciplining these troops; one-half of the expense to be defrayed by the Queen, and the other by the county. Portland, of which Raleigh had the charge, was armed both by fortifications and with the troops from Dorsetshire and Wiltshire; and the same order of defence was carried into effect in the Isle of Wight and Somersetshire, and upon the wastes of Kent and Sussex, as upon those of Norfolk and Suffolk. In the event of the Spanish army effecting a landing, the order of battle was left to the discretion of the general; only it was advised if the enemy's advance into the interior could not be prevented, that the country should be driven and wasted, and the invaders harassed by perpetual alarms.

Such were the military arrangements made for the defence of the south and east coasts; it remains to endeavour to ascertain the whole military force assembled on this occasion.

The Queen did not proceed to hire foreign mercenaries, as Parma had thought probable, but was content to confide in the unbought services of the militia of England and Wales, most of whom were

Military Force.

inexperienced in war, and certainly little accustomed to act together in bodies, as were the standing forces to which they were to be opposed.

According to the returns, printed from the original documents in the Official Report, the total of foot and horse to be provided by England was 87,281; and by Wales, 45,408; in all 132,689, exclusive of those to be supplied by the City of London. ⁽¹⁾

From this grand total, three *corps d'armée* were created; the remainder was to be distributed along the coasts. The first was to consist of 22,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, under the Earl of Leicester, and was to be encamped at Tilbury, to cover the capital; the second, of 36,319 men, under Lord Hunsdon, was assigned for the defence of the Queen's person; and the third, which appears to have been scattered along the south coast, consisted of 34,350 men, and was to act as circumstances might require. ⁽²⁾

The number of men calculated upon as remaining to guard the south coast when these armies were

⁽¹⁾ Sir Walter Raleigh states that, in 1583, there was a general review of all the men in England capable of bearing arms, who were found to amount to 1,172,000. (*The Invention of Shipping*, p. 328.)—This number is, however, much superior to that contained in Murdin. The population of England and Wales during Elizabeth's reign may be computed at between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000. (*Vide Chalmers' Estimate of Great Britain*.)—The completed returns of the last census (1861) show that the number of *inhabited houses* in the United Kingdom is 5,154,985, which allows a house to every 5·6 persons! (See also note to Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, i., p. 8.)

⁽²⁾ The quota each county was to furnish is given in Murdin, and in the Appendix to the Official Report. The following is a tabular statement of the last one of these armies:—

Numbers appointed to be drawn together to make an army, to encounter the enemy in June, 1588. (Murdin, p. 611):—

withdrawn, was 21,172.⁽¹⁾ These numbers, however, only produce a grand total of 115,941, exclusive of the Londoners, who mustered 10,000 men, with a reserve behind in case of need.

The general plan of operations laid down appears to have been to attack the enemy on the sea-shore; but should the resistance made prove ineffectual, the troops were to retreat, to dispute every inch of ground, till joined by reinforcements from the neighbouring counties, then hang on the enemy's rear, if he took his direction either to London or advanced elsewhere into the interior of the kingdom.⁽²⁾

These forces looked strong on paper, but dimi-

	Foot.	Horse.	Light Horse.	Pyoneers.	
Cornwall ...	2,000	16	140		
Devon ...	3,000		200	600	
Somerset ...	3,000	50	300		
Dorsett ...	2,000	120	40	600	
Wilton ...	2,000	19	150		
Southampton	4,000	100	50	1,000	
Barks ...	2,000	10	37	155	
Sussex ...	4,000	20	240	1,300	
Kent ...	4,000	64	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"><div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"><div style="font-size: 2em; margin-right: 5px;">{</div><div>Light Horse Harquib. Petronelles</div></div></div>	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">330 263 85</div>	1,077
Surry ...	1,000	8	127	200	
Summary,	27,000	407	1,962	4,932	

⁽¹⁾ The number of men remaining in the maritime counties for the guard of the coasts, besides those that are drawn out to make head unto the enemy. Anno 1538. (Murdin, p. 612.)

Counties.	Counties.	Summary.
Cornwall ... 3,000	Southampton ... 2,600	} 21,172
Devonshire ... 3,200	Barkshire... ..	
Somersetshire ...	Sussex	
Dorsetshire ... 1,300	Kent 11,000	
Wilts	Surry 72	

⁽²⁾ *Vide* Report, p. 44.

nished terribly in the field. The orders for the army under Lord Leicester to assemble, were issued in June; yet on the 10th of August it did not exceed 16,000 men. ⁽¹⁾ As for Lord Hunsdon's army, none—excepting the men from London and Middlesex, amounting to 10,000 men, who were directed to muster at London on the 23rd of July—received orders to assemble before the 6th of August! ⁽²⁾ On account of this delay, Leicester wrote reproachfully to Walsingham, on the 26th of July: “I beseech you,” says he, “assemble yo^r forces, and play not away this kingdom by delays; and hasten o^r horsemen hether and footemen yf ye hear not that the flete ys skatered or beaten; for surely yf they come to y^e narrow seas, the Prince (of Parma) wyll play another manner of parte than ys looked for.”

On the 27th of July he addressed a letter to the Queen, in which he writes, “For yo^r army, hit ys more than tyme hit were gathered and about you, or so nere you as you may have the use of hit upon few houres warning; the reason ys y^t yo^r mighty enemies are at hand, and yf God suffer them to pass by yo^r flete, you are sure they wyll attempt their purpose in landing w^t all expedition. Therefore is y^t most requysytt for yo^r Ma^{ty} to be provided for all eventes of as great force every way as you can devyse, . . . you shall hazard your owne honor beside yo^r person and countrey, and must offend yo^r gracious God,

⁽¹⁾ Stowe, p. 750.—Ellis's *Original Letters*, 2 Ser., iii. 142.

⁽²⁾ Murdin, pp. 612, 613.

y^t gave you these forces and power, and wyll not use them whan you should.”⁽¹⁾

Elizabeth had a purpose in these delays. To call out so many men on active service would entail a great expense on the Crown. She therefore postponed these measures, to the last cherishing that hope, which has been before alluded to, of being enabled to avoid the contest.

The country was now fairly aroused, and a spirit of unanimity at this crisis generally pervaded the whole nation. All ranks of persons concurred in being ready to serve for the defence of the realm; Catholics and Protestants united with zeal in the common cause. A great many of the young nobility and gentry entered themselves as volunteers in the navy, hired ships at their own expense, and joined the great fleet under Lord Howard, himself a Roman Catholic.⁽²⁾ At length, on the 20th of July, the mighty expedition hove in sight, and great was the excitement on shore.

“The beacon blazed upon the roof of Edgecumb’s lofty hill;
Many a light fishing-bark put out to pry along the coast;
And with loose rein and bloody spur rode inland many a post.”

The elements from the first fought against the armada, although Philip, in pious confidence, anticipated that it would be otherwise;⁽³⁾ but when we take into consideration, that if the Spanish men-of-war

⁽¹⁾ *Hardwicke Papers*, i. 576.

⁽²⁾ See “The Names of the Nobility, Gentry, and others, who contributed to the Defence of the Country in 1588.” (King’s Lib., Brit. Mus., 194, a. 22.)

⁽³⁾ Philip to Parma, Sept. 4, 1587. MS. quoted in *Un. Netherl.*, ii. 314.

had not been dispersed by the fire-ships and the storm, the attempt to land would have been made on the 30th or 31st of July, and that the raw and hasty levies—even had they been all assembled—could have opposed but a feeble resistance to the Spanish infantry, and to the disciplined veterans under the Duke of Parma, and that such a leader as he was immeasurably superior to the English commander-in-chief, the Earl of Leicester, we may well be thankful that England was saved by the intrepidity of her navy; and without disparaging our countrymen's loyalty and courage—for those who came to the muster displayed an excellent spirit⁽¹⁾—we may be grateful that no trial of them was then made on English land.

An old soldier, who was present at the camp of Tilbury, has expressed an opinion by no means complimentary to the appearance and deportment of the militia there:—

“And because that no man can be conveniently and fitly armed, unlesse he be first fitly apparelled for his armor, and also for the use of his weapon, and that in the Campe and Armie at Tilbury, 1588, whereas there were regiments of divers Shieres, with divers bands both of demi-launces and light-horsemen, I did see and observe so great disorder and deformitie in their apparrell to arme withall, as I saw but very few of that army that had any convenience of apparel,

⁽¹⁾ “Mr. Secretary,—The 4,000 men of Essex ar all com together, and loged here together, at West Tylbury. . . . They be as forward men, and all wylling to mete w^t the enemye, as ever I saw.” (The Earl of Leicester to Sir F. Walsingham. Gravesend, 26th July, 1588.)

and chieffie of doublets to arme upon, wherof it came to passe that the most of them did weare their armors verie uncomelie, uneasilie," &c.⁽¹⁾

The gallant Edward Stanley gives but a sorry account of the choicest soldiers of Cheshire and Lancashire, which he had been sent down to inspect. "I find them," he reports, "not according to your expectation, nor myne own liking. They were appointed two years past to have been trained six days by the year or more, at the discretion of the muster-master, but as yet *they have not been trained one day*, so that they have benefitted nothing, nor yet know their leaders." (Sir E. Stanley to Privy Council, ^{28 Feb.,} 1588. S. P. O., MS.)
^{9 March,}

Another Englishman, three years before this, reported to Mr. Secretary Walsingham the disadvantages arising from the utter inexperience of the English troops. "God hath stirred up this action (*i.e.*, the war in the Low-Counties) to be a school to breed up soldiers to defend the freedom of England, which, through these long times of peace and quietness, is brought into a most dangerous estate, if it should be attempted." (Thomas Wilford to Walsingham, ¹⁸/₂₈ Dec., 1585. S. P. O., MS.)

Some extracts from State Papers in the Library of the Pontifical and other palaces at Rome, present us with what was the foreign view of the resources of England:—"As the armada is composed of two distinct armaments, so will be their operations; that of

(1) *Instructions, Observations, and Orders Mylitaris, &c.* Composed by Sir John Smythe, Knight. Lon. 4^{to}. 1595, p. 183.

Spain is to make the first attack, and that of the Low Countries to come after. Each of these is more powerful than all the sea-forces of England; consequently, the subjugation of that country is decided. In respect to the nobility of England, I esteem them too unimportant to excite serious apprehension; nor have I much reliance on the Catholic party, on account of their marked aversion to foreigners. As to the people in general, a peace of thirty years has rendered them so lukewarm and pusillanimous, that they are unable to resist a disciplined army." (*Extracts of Military Array*, K. Lib., B. Mus., 61, f. 16, p. 17.)

Elizabeth, during this crisis, displayed the characteristic courage of the Tudors. She appeared confident of success, and even proposed coming out in person to lead the troops. This course was, however, disapproved of by Leicester, which brought forth the following letter, which in itself is curious, as showing the terms of fulsome adulation in which the Queen was accustomed to be addressed:—

"My most dear and gracious Lady. . . .
Now for your person, being the most dainty and sacred thing we have in this world to care for, much more for advice to be given for your direction of it, specially finding yr. Majesty to have y^e princely courage to transport yr. self to y^e uttermost confines of yr. realm, to meet yr. enemies and to defend yr. subjects; I can not, most dear Queen, consent to that.
. . . . And this far if it please you, you may do, to draw yr. self to yr. house at Havering, and yr. army being about London, as Stratford, East Ham,

Hackney, and in the mean time yr. Majesty to comfort this army and people, may, if it please you, spend two or three (days) to see both the Camp and the Fortes.”⁽¹⁾

She followed his advice, and postponed her visit until the 9th of August, on which day she arrived in her barge at Tilbury Fort, where the Lord General was waiting to receive her, and a royal salute was fired from the Blockhouse; and amidst a great display of flags, and the sounds of drums and fifes, her Majesty proceeded in a carriage to the camp, escorted by a thousand horse and two thousand foot.

At day-break, next morning, the troops were under arms, and a sham fight took place for the inspection of the Queen, who appeared on horseback. It was on this occasion that she is reported to have delivered an inspiriting address to the army, which, if ever issued at all, could not have been delivered then, as she certainly could not exhort them to fight, nor hope “shortly to have a famous victory” after the enemy was gone, and when, acting upon her accustomed carefulness, she had resolved to disband the army as quickly as possible.⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ Stowe.—*Hardwicke Papers*, i. 577.

⁽²⁾ “My very good Lord. Your letters of the xvij. of this present month, I received this evening at vi. of the clock, wherein I am advertized that her Majesty’s pleasure is, the whole campe should presently be dissolved.” (Leicester to Walsingham. Harl. MS. 6,994, art. 77.) On the 4th of September Leicester died. Elizabeth, doubtless, regretted the loss of her favourite: but she appears to have carried her affection no farther than the grave; and, characteristically, forthwith ordered the public sale of his goods, to discharge a debt to her exchequer. The inventories are preserved in the Brit. Mus. (Roll D, 35, *Cart. Antiq.*) The whole of his personal pro-

other
council of
war.

Eight years afterwards the preparations in the harbours of the Peninsula, which fortunately had no further result so far as this country was concerned, again excited general alarm throughout England. Again was the Privy Council assembled to deliberate on measures of defence, having the experience of the last grand attempt to assist them. The opinions delivered on the occasion form important extracts in the official volume; ⁽¹⁾ and it is interesting to listen, as it were, to the very words uttered by such men as Burleigh, Raleigh, and others, when debating, in 1596, on the points most open to attack, and on the best means for protecting the country.

Howard of Effingham, the Lord-Admiral, urged the same measures which he had proposed on the former occasion, namely, to anticipate the designs of the enemy, by sending out an expedition to destroy his armaments. The impetuous Essex powerfully seconded him, despising the cautious policy of Burleigh. "By beating the Spaniards here," said he, "we can get but their cloaths and their skins; and by being beaten, we should lose all." And they had sufficient interest with the Queen to get their views adopted.

Raleigh's
opinion.

In Raleigh's great work on the *History of the World*, he takes occasion, when discussing some of

property at Kenilworth, Leicester House, and Wanstead, were valued at nearly £30,000. The bill for his funeral amounted to £4,000, an enormous sum when compared with the present value of money. (See Lyson's *Environs of London*, vol. iv.)

⁽¹⁾ See Report before cited.—Also *On the Defence of Sussex*, by W. H. Blaauw, Esq., F.S.A., in vol. xi. *Sussex Archæol. Coll.*

the events of the first Punic War, to give his reasonings on the proper policy of England, when menaced with invasion.

"I hold," says he, "that the best way is to keep our enemies from treading upon our ground; wherein, if we fail, then must we seek to make him wish that he had stayed at his own home. In such a case, if it should happen, our judgements are to weigh many particular circumstances, that belongs not unto this discourse. But making the question general, and positive, *Whether England, without the help of her Fleet, be able to debar an enemy from landing.* I hold that it is unable so to do: and, therefore, I think it most dangerous to make the adventure. For the incouragement of a first victory to an enemy, and the discouragement of being beaten to the invaded, may draw after it a most perilous consequence.

"Great difference I know there is, and a diverse consideration to be had, between such a country as France is, strengthened with many fortified places, and this of ours, where our ramparts are but the bodies of men. But I say that an army to be transplanted over sea, and to be landed in an enemy's country, and the place left to the choice of the invader, cannot be resisted on the coast of England, without a Fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the coast of France, or any other country, except every creek, port, or sandy bay, had a powerful army in each of them, to make opposition. For let the supposition be granted that Kent is able to furnish 12,000 foot, and that those 12,000 be laid in the three best land-

ing-places within that Countrey—to wit, 3,000 at Margat, 3,000 at the Nesse, and 6,000 at Fulkston, that is, somewhat equally distant from them both; as also that two of these Troops (unless some other order be thought more fit) be directed to strengthen the third, when they shall see the enemy's Fleet to bend towards it;—I say, that notwithstanding this provision, if the enemy, setting sail from the Isle of Wight, in the first watch of the night, and towing their long boats at their sterns, shall arrive by dawn of day at the Nesse, and thrust their army on shore there, it will be hard for those 3,000 that are at Margat (twenty and four long miles from thence) to come time enough to re-inforce their fellows at the Nesse. Nay, how shall they at Fulkston be able to do it, who are nearer by more than half the way? Seeing that the enemy, at his first arrival, will either make his entrance by force, with three or four hundred shot of great Artillery, and quickly put the first 3,000 that were entrenched at the Nesse, to run; or else give them so much to do, that they shall be glad to send for help to Fulkston, and perhaps to Margat: whereby those places will be left bare. Now, let us suppose that all the 12,000 Kentish Souldiers arrive at the Nesse, ere the enemy can be ready to disembarque his army, so that he will find it unsafe to land in the face of so many prepared to withstand him; yet must we believe, that he will play the best of his own game (having liberty to go which way he list), under covert of the night, set sail towards the east, where what shall hinder him to take ground either at Margat,

the Downes, or elsewhere, before they at the Nesse can be well aware of his departure? Certainly, there is nothing more easy than to do it. Yea, the like may be said of Waymouth, Purbeck, Poole, and of all landing-places in the south coast. For there is no man ignorant that ships, without putting themselves out of breath, will easily outrun the Souldiers that coast them. '*Les armées ne volent point en poste;*'—'*Armies neither flye nor run post*'—saith a Marshal of France. And I know it to be true, that a fleet of ships may be seen at sunset, and after it at the Lizard, yet by the next morning they may recover Portland, whereas an army of foot shall not be able to march it in six dayes. Again, when those troops lodged on the sea-shores, shall be forced to run from place to place in vain, after a Fleet of ships, they will at length sit down in the midway, and leave all at adventure. But say it were otherwise, that the invading enemy will offer to land in some such place, where there shall be an army of ours ready to receive him, yet it cannot be doubted, but that when the choice of all our Trained Bands, and the choice of our Commanders and Captains, shall be drawn together (as they were at Tilbury, in the year 1588), to attend the person of the Prince, and for the defence of the City of London: they that remain to guard the coast can be of no such force, as to encounter an army like unto that wherewith it was intended that the Prince of Parma should have landed in England.

"For end of this digression, I hope that this

question shall never come to trial; his Majesties many moveable forts will forbid the experience. And although the English will no less disdain, than any nation under heaven can do, to be beaten upon their own ground, or elsewhere, by a foreign enemy; yet to entertain those that shall assail us with their own beef in their bellies, and before they eat of our Kentish capons, I take it to be the wisest way. To do which, his Majesty after God, will employ his good ships on the sea, and not trust to any entrenchment upon the shore." (B. v., c. i., s. 9.)

CHAPTER XV.

JAMES I. A MAN OF PEACE—ASSISTANCE TO THE PALATINATE—COUNCIL OF WAR—ITS REPORT—AUXILIARY FORCE SAILS—SIR HORATIO VERE—SMALL RESULTS—IN 1624 AN ARMY SENT OVER TO THE LOW COUNTRIES, UNDER COUNT MANSFIELD—REPEAL OF ARMOUR-STATUTES—SOCIAL CONDITION OF OFFICERS AND MEN.

JAMES I. was emphatically a man of peace; "the very name of war was odious to him." ⁽¹⁾ He began his reign by making terms with Spain, and thus put an end to the hostilities which had existed for so many years between the two countries. ⁽²⁾ Under these circumstances much progress in military affairs was not to be expected. Most other nations were maintaining standing armies, or were swarming with mercenaries; but the defence of our island was still entrusted to the militia, the nominal strength of which is stated to have been 160,000 men. ⁽³⁾ It was only after repeated remonstrances of Parliament and people, backed by the influence of Prince Henry, that James was induced to strike a feeble blow, in co-operation with the Protestant princes of Germany, in defence of his son-in-law's rights in the Palatinate. ⁽⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾ Camden.

⁽²⁾ See Rymer, *sub an.* 1604.

⁽³⁾ Journals, 1 March, 1623.

⁽⁴⁾ In a speech to Parliament, the King stated that he had expended £500,000 in the cause of the Palatinate, besides the voluntary contributions given him by the people. (See Rushworth, vol. i., pt. i.)

Royal
Commission.

A Royal Commission was thereupon appointed to inquire and report upon the number of men, supplies, shipping, and money required for the expedition. After a month's deliberation, the commissioners reported very fully, as may be perceived by the following long-winded document, which is preserved in the Harleian MS., No. 5,109, and is also copied in Grose's *Mil. Ant.*, ii. 146:—

“The List of a Royall armie intended to bee raised for the recovery and protection of the Palatinate, consisting of 25,000 foote and 5,000 horse, 20 pieces of Ordinance or Artillery, as by his Majestie's command it was consulted, advised, and concluded on by a committee of Lordes and others, under their hands at Whitehall, London, Jan. 13, 1620, 18th Jan., &c.

“Att the court of Whitehall, Januarie the 13th, 1620:—

“Lo. Arc. Bpp. of Canterbury.

Lo. Chancellor Bacon.

Lo. Privie Seale.

Lo. Steward.

Lo. M. Hambleton.

Lo. Chamberlaine.

E. of Arundel.

E. of Kelcey.

Lo. Viscount Doncaster.

Lo. Viscount Faulkland.

Lo. Carew.

So that, it appears, he had been far from neglecting the interests of his daughter and son-in-law, and had even gone far beyond what his narrow revenue could afford. (See note to Hume, vol. vi., p. 565.)

Lo. Digby.

Mr. Treasurer.

Mr. Secretary Nanton.

Mr. Secretary Calvert.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. of the Wardes.

“His Majestie having resolved to make some royall preparations for the recovery and protection of the Palatinate (being the auncient inheritance of H. M^{ties}. sonne-in-lawe and grandchildren), did, in his high wisdome, thinke meete to appoint some persons of knowledge and experience in the warres to consider and give their advice in such propositions as shall be made unto them from the Counsell board, for the better expediting of that service.

“To which purpose the Earle of Oxenford and the Earle of Essex, both lately returned from the Palatinate, the Earle of Leicester,⁽¹⁾ the Lord Viscount Wilmott, the Lord Danvers, the Lord Caufeild, Sir Edward Cecill, and Sir Richard Morrison, Knights, and Captayne John Bingham; were called to the table and made acquainted with his Majestie's pleasure, that they or any five or more of them, with Sir Horace Vere and Sir Edward Conway, Knights, (if they returned into England while the committee shall continue), shall undertake that service, and have their meetings and assemblies in the ould Counsell Chamber at Whitehall, &c.

⁽¹⁾ Young Essex and Leicester, sons of the late Queen's favourites.

“ XIth Feb., 1620.

“ The List of a Royal army consisting of 25,000 foote, 5,000 horse, 20 peeces of artillery, and all other habillaments and utensils of warre for such an enterprise soe difficult and remote ; with our opinions and estimate of every particular sett downe accordinge to the limits of your lordshipps directions, and grounded upon such advertisements of the enemye’s strength as we have received from the Secretaries of State.

“ The allowance of officers, and all entertainments unto this army, are extracted from the diversitie of former presidents in the several employments of our owne nation, and onely supplied by the best institutions now in practise where they have been defective.

	£	s.	d.
First—The charge of raysing the said 25,000 foote, for their apparell and arms, viz. : 20,000 pikes and muskets, at £3 10s. a man, and 5,000 calibers at £3 6s. a man; abating all dead payes, ⁽¹⁾ will amount to the sume of - - - -	77,836	8	0
The charge of raysing of 5,000, viz. : 3,500 curra-seers at £30 a peice, and 1,500 carbyneres at £20 a peice, all dead payes being likewise abated, will amount to the sume of - - - -	126,900	0	0
The charge of transportinge of 25,000 footmen to the most convenient places of landing in the river of Maize, used by the States in the Low Countreys for landing their soldiers in the like expeditions, at 4s. the man, will amount to the sume of - - - - -	5,000	0	0
The charge of transportinge 5,000 horsemen to the same place at 18s. a peice for horse and man will amount to the sume of - - - - -	4,500	0	0

“ The twentieth pieces of greater Ordinance before

⁽¹⁾ As to the meaning of this term, see Index, under PAY.

mentioned, two mortar pieces for fire-works must be all mounted upon field carriages with foure wheeles, and lymmers fully compleate, and to be furnished and attended with spare carriages and wheeles, blocke carriages, copper ladles furnyshed with sponges and rammers, and with all other habilaments and utensells of warre, and with many other small provisions which are soe necessary for the trayne of Artillery, that without them, they can neither march nor be used. To which alsoe must be added some proportion of small provisions for supply of the army."

Then follow particulars of all the charges, pay, and allowances of the officers and soldiers, and of every military utensil, &c.

It seems, however, that the amount of the expedition, as recommended by the committee, was on much too grand a scale to suit the King, for one regiment only was dispatched to the seat of war under the command of Sir Horatio Vere.⁽¹⁾ This regiment was, however, of considerable dimensions, consisting of 2,200 men, and was pronounced to be "the gallantest for the persons, and outward presence of men, that in many ages hath appeared either at home or abroad."⁽²⁾

Regiment
for the
Palatinate.

It was composed chiefly of noblemen and gentlemen. The young Earls of Oxford and Essex, among others, accompanied it as captains, and on account of

(1) Created Baron Tilbury in 1625. His tomb, with a slab bearing his armour, is in Westminster Abbey.

(2) Camden, *Hist. of James I.*, p. 722.—Rushworth, *Coll.*, i., pt. i.

their rank and influence, were allowed the privilege of commanding two companies each. ⁽¹⁾

The English behaved well, but the campaign was not a glorious one—the effect of the King's narrow policy; nor was the end attained for which it was undertaken. It was a waste of blood and treasure, carried on without any hopes of success, for the army of “the Protestant Union” was no match for the more numerous forces of the Imperialists, led by the celebrated Spinola.

Camden, who was “along with the Earl of Essex in that expedition,” records some curious incidents which are worth perusing. The English appear to have suffered great privations from the inclemency of the winter, and on one occasion they were obliged to burn a great many of their wagons to warm them, the frost was so violent, and the soldiers lay in heaps upon the ground, close together, like sheep, covered, as it were, with a sheet of snow.” The regiment afterwards went into winter quarters at Manheim, Heidelberg, and Frankenthale.

In 1624 the amicable relations which had existed for some years between England and Spain were interrupted, and an army of 6,000 men was levied and sent over to the United Provinces, to co-operate

(1) “Our new English army was divided into four divisions (500 in each). The Earl of Oxford and the Earl of Essex (having double companies) made one division. My Lord General, Sir Charles Rich, and Sir John Wentworth, made another; Lieut.-Colonel Captain Pointer, Captain Fairfax, and Captain Greatex, the third; the Sergeant-Major, Sir Garret Herbert, Sir Stafford Wilmot (now dead), and Captain Buck, the fourth.” (See *Fairfax Cor.* (Chas. I.), vol. i., p. xli.)

with Prince Maurice of Nassau and the Dutch, who were still struggling manfully to throw off the Spanish yoke. Many of those who held commands in that English force were destined to turn their military experience to account, and in after years to meet often in the battle-fields at home.

At the instigation of Count Mansfield, an English army of 12,000 foot and 200 horse was levied "by press,"⁽¹⁾ and placed under his command. The foot were "digested"⁽²⁾ into six regiments, the colonels of which were the Earl of Lincoln, Lord Doncaster,⁽³⁾ Lord Cromwell, Sir Charles Rich, Sir Andrew Grey, and Sir John Burrough.⁽⁴⁾ But this expedition turned out very unfortunate; a contagious disease broke out among the troops, so that their numbers in a few weeks were almost reduced by one-half, and Mansfield was obliged to remain on the defensive.

It is somewhat anomalous that Lord Vaux was allowed to raise 1,500 men for the service of the Archduchess of Austria; which, as Camden remarks, "tended much to the King's prejudice; for his subjects in a strange country, by this means, fought one against another, which was a kind of uncivil war."⁽⁵⁾

Many ancient statutes were repealed in this reign, which were conceived to be unsuitable to the spirit of the times. Amongst these, the Statutes of Armour, namely, 27th Henry II., 13th Edward I., and 4th

Statutes of
Armour
repealed.

(¹) *Hardwicke Papers*, i. 533.—*Rushworth*, i., pt. i.

(²) Camden.

(³) Son of the Earl of Carlisle.

(⁴) *Rushworth*, i., pt. i., p. 14.

(⁵) Camden, p. 789.

and 5th Philip and Mary, c. ii., by which all subjects, according to their means, were bound to furnish a certain quantity of arms, horses, and armour. These were repealed by Parliament, the 2nd James I., c. 25, and 21st James I., c. 28. ⁽¹⁾

The abrogation of these laws was of itself a proof of a considerable revolution of opinion with respect to the liberty of the subject. The consolidation of the two realms into one, so that there were no more "borders"—where those ancient provisions had been principally useful or oftenest used—may have influenced their repeal; but commercial opulence, which had fostered a spirit of independence, had a great deal to do with it.

The British monarch had wisely determined, if possible, to have no more war; and the arms and armour of the trained and untrained bands, which had been so widely distributed, were ordered to be returned and stored in "magazines."⁽²⁾ Some efforts were made by the City of London to improve its military condition, and officers were procured who had served abroad to teach the trained bands their exercise in the Artillery Garden, a practice which had been discontinued since 1588.

The pay of a private of infantry, when called out, was eightpence a day,⁽³⁾ a large sum in an age when the necessaries of life were at least six times as cheap

⁽¹⁾ *Vide* Tytler's *Mil. Law*, p. 57.

⁽²⁾ In a pamphlet written by Trenchard (pub. 1698), an opponent of standing armies, the author says: "Our happiness was that the prince was a great coward, and hated the sight of a soldier." (p. 5.)

⁽³⁾ Rymer, *sub. an.* 1612, vol. xi., p. 717.

as they are now. An ensign received eighteen-pence, a lieutenant two shillings, a captain four shillings; so that the private, in proportion, seems to have been better paid than the officer. It may be that the social position of the officer and private in the mass was more nearly allied, both belonging pretty nearly to the same class of society.

CHAPTER XVI.

CHARLES I.—SUPPLIES REFUSED BY PARLIAMENT—ARMY OF 10,000 MEN SENT TO SPAIN—UNSUCCESSFUL EXPEDITION—ISLE OF RÉ EXPEDITION—PETITION OF RIGHT—MARTIAL LAW—TRAIN-BANDS—APPROVED PATTERN OF ARMS—REBELLION OF THE SCOTCH—BAD SPIRIT OF ENGLISH LEVIES—THE KING'S NECESSITIES—MISBEHAVIOUR OF COMMANDERS—THE COVENANTERS' ARMY ADVANCE TO NEWCASTLE—ENERGY OF STRAFFORD—DISCOMFITURE OF THE KING'S FORCES—TREATY WITH THE SCOTCH—IRISH REBELLION—THE KING'S OFFER TO PROCEED THITHER WITH AN ARMY DECLINED BY PARLIAMENT—GOVERNORS OF FORTIFIED PLACES REMOVED BY PARLIAMENT—THE KING'S POWER OVER THE MILITIA DENIED—DEFIANCE—KING RETIRES TO YORK—FOILED IN HIS ATTEMPT TO ENTER HULL—FORMS A BODY-GUARD.

THE accession of Charles I. is one of those points of history which arrests our attention, opening out to view one of the most important and interesting periods in our English annals. The page which records the death of the king, closes the chapter on monarchy for a time; we there take a final leave of feudal military incidents, and the array of the militia ceases to be the country's sole defensive guard.

The refusal by the Parliament of the necessary supplies was the beginning of the misfortunes in this unhappy reign. Charles considered himself pledged to carry on the war for the support of the cause of his brother-in-law, the Elector Palatine, which, as has just been stated, was so strongly urged by the voice

of the nation in the preceding reign. But both Houses of Parliament evinced a settled determination to restrain the Royal authority, and trusted to the King's necessities to extort concessions. Charles's inheritance of Crown debts was very considerable, and, being reduced to a state of destitution, ⁽¹⁾ he was driven to the expedients often adopted by his predecessors, of issuing writs for borrowing money from the subjects. These were not likely to add to the King's popularity, but, by dint of such forced contributions, he was enabled to fit out an expedition designed to act against Spain, by which he expected indirectly to benefit the cause of his brother-in-law.

In October of his first regnal year, the fleet set sail, having on board 10,000 men, "raised by press," under the command of Sir Edwin Cecil, created for the occasion Viscount Wimbledon, an officer grown grey in the wars of the Netherlands, but totally devoid of any knowledge of naval operations. Like many attempts before and since, this predatory attack, had no important or creditable result. Though an opportunity offered of crippling the Spanish shipping, it was neglected; and almost the only danger the troops who landed had to encounter lay in the wine-cellars of Cadiz. Being undisciplined, they could not be restrained: "every man was his own vintner," as a contemporary expressed it; and had the fugitive Spaniards returned on such invaders, they would have found an easy conquest. ⁽²⁾ The consequence was,

⁽¹⁾ *Sydney Papers*, ii. 363.—*Rymer*, xviii. 181.—*Rushworth*, i. 122.

⁽²⁾ *Disraeli's Commentaries*, i. 292 (edit. 1828).

the troops became so insubordinate that it was deemed prudent to re-embark them, and shortly afterwards the expedition returned ingloriously to Plymouth, greatly to the King's disappointment and annoyance.

le of Ré
pedition.

In 1627 there was the unfortunate affair of the Isle of Ré, ⁽¹⁾ which has been termed the Walcheren expedition of Charles' reign. ⁽²⁾ The King was induced to send a fleet of 100 ships and an army of 7,000 men, under the Duke of Buckingham, who had neither naval nor military experience, to the west coast of France, nominally for the purpose of assisting the French Protestants, but in reality to gratify the spite of his favourite courtier. The utter inefficiency of the commander gave occasion to the most signal discomfiture that English arms ever sustained from the French. "Since England was England," wrote Denzil Holles, "it received not so dishonourable a blow." ⁽³⁾ A badly-arranged retreat was at last executed, and the English are stated to have been saved from annihilation by the gallant cover made by a body of Irish troops. ⁽⁴⁾

petition of
Right.

The presentation of the "Petition of Right," as

⁽¹⁾ Guizot.

⁽²⁾ An interesting account of this expedition will be found in Disraeli's *Commentaries*, ii. 64.

⁽³⁾ Letter to Sir Thos. Wentworth, 19th Nov., 1627. (*Strafford's Letters and Despatches*, i. 41.)

⁽⁴⁾ "Our men were most unfortunate; many of them cut to pieces. Had not Sir Pierce Crossby, with 800 Irish, made good the retreat, all our men had been lost." (Masères, *Tracts*, p. 150.)—The Duke of Buckingham was assassinated, when preparing for a second expedition to La Rochelle, by Felton, "a discontented and hypochondriacal lieutenant, who missed of being a captain as he thought in his turn," as described by Sir R. Warwick, p. 33. (Ellis's *Orig. Letters*, 3rd S., 256—60.)

it was called—a most important measure—was one of the immediate consequences of this disastrous expedition. It was founded on the four following grievances:—Exaction of money under the name of loans, with the imprisonment of those refusing to lend; ⁽¹⁾ the suspension of the Habeas Corpus; the billeting of soldiers on private persons; and the exercise of martial law. ⁽²⁾

With respect to the billeting of soldiers, which Hollis characterised as being “a new and almost unheard-of way of supporting them,” ⁽³⁾ it was not without reason that the framers of the bill inserted this among their grievances; for it appears that, most illegally, soldiers had been billeted purposely on such as had refused to subscribe to the Government loan. This was an assumption of military power which was clearly unconstitutional, being repugnant to those ancient charters which established the general liberty of the subject. ⁽⁴⁾

The army, ill-paid and undisciplined, committed outrages which the King saw no other means of repressing than by a most rigorous exercise of martial law. Commissions were issued to the lord-lieutenants, or their deputies, enjoining them to proceed against

(1) “The higher orders who did not subscribe to the loans, were bound over by recognizance to appear; the lower classes were ordered to present themselves that they might be enrolled among the companies of soldiers, that they who refused to assist with their purses should serve in their person for the common defence.” (Rushworth, i., p. 422.)

(2) Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, i. 382.

(3) *Strafford Letters*, i., 40. This was one of the charges brought against the Earl of Strafford at his trial.

(4) Tytler's *Mil. Law*, 62.

all soldiers, mariners, and other disorderly persons, who should be guilty of felonies, murders, and other misdemeanours, and to execute all such persons immediately as in time of war; ⁽¹⁾ a remedy which the strict adherents to constitutional principles deemed worse than the disease which called it forth.

The 6th section of that important petition sets forth that, "Whereas of late, great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed into divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants, against their wills, have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn, against the laws and customs of the realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people.

(1) "A.D. 1626.

An^o. 2, Car. I.

CHARLES, &c.

"Forasmuch as some dissolute and disordered persons amongst the Souldiers and Mariners entertained in our service to serve us, in the Royal fleet or Navy, either were in our service in our former fleet, which for weighty considerations We intend, with all convenient expedition, now to set to sea, may commit felonies, robberies, or other outrages or offencées, to the horror and prejudice of our loving subjects, and the disturbance of our peace, &c.:

"We do give unto you full power and authority, to proceed according to the justice of Martial Law against Souldiers or Mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as shall at any time after the publication of this Our Commission commit any robbery, &c., which by the Martial Law should or ought to be punished with Death, and by such summary course and order as is agreeable to Martial Law, and as is used in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such delinquents and offenders, and them cause to be executed and put to death, according to the law Martial, for which purpose Our will and pleasure is that you cause to be erected such gallows or gibbets, &c.

"The fourth day of October.

"Per ipsum Regem."

(Rymer, tom. xviii., p. 765, edit. 1726.)

“7. And whereas, by authority of Parliament, in the 25th year of Edward III., it is enacted that no man should be forejudged of life or limb against the form of the Great Charter, and laws of the land; and by the said Great Charter, and other laws of this realm, no man ought to be adjudged to death but by the laws established in this realm; nevertheless, divers commissions under the Great Seal have issued forth, by which certain persons have been appointed commissioners, with power and authority to proceed within the land, according to the justice of Martial Law, against such soldiers and mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, &c., and by such summary course and order as is agreeable to Martial Law, and as is used in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to be caused and put to death according to the Law-Martial.

“8. By pretext whereof, some of your Majesty’s subjects have been by some of the said commissioners put to death, when and where, if by the laws of the land they had deserved death, by the same laws and statutes also they might and by no other ought to have been judged and executed.

“10. They do therefore humbly pray, that your Majesty would be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be burdened in time to come, and that the aforesaid commissions proceeding by Martial Law may be revoked and annulled; and that hereafter no com-

missions of the like nature may issue forth to any person whatsoever to be executed as aforesaid; lest by colour of them, any of your Majesty's subjects be destroyed or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchise of the land."

To this formidable petition, which involved the abandonment of the high military power of the Crown, and the consequent restriction of the Royal prerogative, the King was ultimately constrained to give a reluctant consent.

Some useful measures were adopted for putting the military resources of the kingdom in better shape, as the militia, a natural result of continued peace, had become much "decayed," and the trained bands were seldom mustered. "We had formerly many trayning dayes, but now the practice is much decayed," says an old author in 1639. ⁽¹⁾ The people generally were inexpert in the use of arms. Lord-lieutenants were directed "to make a general muster of the trained horse and foot in their several counties, and to see to the sufficiency of the men, horses, and arms, and that all be complete according to the most modern form." ⁽²⁾ The King likewise commanded that officers who had seen service in the Low Countries should be appointed to superintend the exercises in the various counties. A survey was also ordered, by Royal command, of all the armour, arms, and ammunition in the Tower of London, the several forts and castles

General
Muster
ordered.

⁽¹⁾ *Observ. to Bp. Dur.*, by A. L., quoted in *Archæol. Æliana*, iv. 122.

⁽²⁾ Rushworth, i., pt. iii., p. 168.

throughout the kingdom, and also on board the ships of war. (1) In 1631, commissioners were appointed, consisting of a number of experienced armourers, gun, pike, and bandalier makers, to travel throughout England and Wales, to survey, prove, repair, and put the armour and weapons of the militia into a state fit for service. This commission, which contains many curious particulars, will be found in Rymer, *sub an.* 1631 (7 Car. I.), and also in Grose's *Mil. Ant.*, ii., p. 324.

It commences by stating that, "We foreseeing in our princely judgment how necessary it is for the preservation of our self and our subjects, that the armours, guns, pikes, and bandaliers be from time to time repaired, amended, dressed, and stamped; and that they be fully furnished and completely maintained, according to the number charged by the muster-rolls in every county, which, we are credibly informed, are in many parts of this kingdom much decayed and neglected. . . . And that expert workmen may be secured, so as to render the supply of arms and armour independent of foreigners. . . . And that it had been ascertained that the English armourers, at seven days' notice, could deliver into store, for ready money, fifteen hundred suits of armour,

Commission
to Arms and
Armour.

(1) Rymer, *sub an.* 1629.—This order appears to have been carried out in the following year, according to a MS. *penes* Mr. Robert Lemon, F.S.A. "The remayne of his Majesty's armour, and other munition or habilaments of war, in the armory of the Tower of London and Greenwich, in the charge of Sir Thomas Jaye, K^{nt}, Master of his Majesty's Armory, taken, numbered, and told in the months of December, January, and February, 1630-1."

as many pikes, guns, muskets, and bastard-muskets⁽¹⁾ every month. . . . All weapons proved and reported fit for service to be marked with 'A⁽²⁾ and Crown,' being the hall-mark for the company of workmen armourers of London. And because divers cutlers, smiths, tinkers, and other botchers of arms, by their unskilfulness have utterly spoiled many arms, no person to exercise the trade or mystery of an armourer, who had not served seven years, or been brought up as an apprentice."

The concluding paragraph contains, probably, the first intimation of a "sealed pattern" being deposited, whereby an uniformity was enjoined in the "fashion of arms and armour"—a regulation which had never been in force before, and the want of which must have been productive of great inconvenience.

Uniform
Pattern.

"And because we are credibly given to understand that the often and continual altering and changing of the fashion of arms and armour, some counties and parts of the kingdom having armours of one fashion and some of another, do put many of our subjects to a great and unnecessary charge, and more than need requireth: for the avoiding whereof our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby appoint and command, that hereafter there shall be but one uniform fashion of armour of the said common and trained bands throughout our said kingdom of ENGLAND and dominion of WALES, whereas any of the said armours shall be supplied and new made, and that that form and fashion of armour shall be agreeable to the last

(1) Probably calivers.

(2) "A" for "allowed."

and modern fashion lately set down and appointed to be used by the lords and others of our council of war (the patterns whereof are now and shall remain in the office of our ordinance from time to time; which is our pleasure likewise concerning guns, pikes, and bandaliers, whereof patterns are and shall remain from time to time in our said office"), &c.

The King, in consideration of the services of the gunmakers in supplying arms, granted them a charter in 1617, empowering them to prove all arms, "harquesbusse (*plantier-busse*, alias *blanter-busse*), and musquetoon, and every calliver, musquet, carbine, fowling and birding piece, and for every dagg and pistol, whether public or private"—gunmakers' proof-mark to be "G. P. and a crown." This right remains to them at the present time. (*Original Ordnance Accounts, penes Mr. Pritchett, F.S.A.*)

In 1639, the military forces of the kingdom were ordered to be embodied to act against the Scotch, who were in open revolt, in consequence of the King's insane attempt to force upon them episcopacy and the ritual according to the Church of England; the consequence of which was the production of that protestation called the "Covenant," and a very general arming of the people in furtherance of their religious freedom. A gallant old soldier-adventurer, Alexander Leslie, who had returned to his native country, after having fought his way up to high military rank in that grand school for soldiers—the armies of Gustavus Adolphus, was appointed their general-

The
Covenanter
War.

in-chief,⁽¹⁾ and they made themselves masters of the Castle of Edinburgh and other strong places.

To meet this emergency, the Marquis of Hamilton was sent to blockade the Firth of Forth, with a strong fleet and 5,000 troops, "for stopping of trade, and making a great diversion for guarding the coasts;"⁽²⁾ but he appears to have been very inoperative, which raised some question as to the sincerity of his loyalty.⁽³⁾ He may have had some misgivings as to the raw material confided to his charge, for it is stated that "of the 5,000 men put on board the fleet, there were not 2,000 that knew how to fire a musquet, and, except the officers, so raw and undisciplined, that little could be expected of them beyond a show."⁽⁴⁾

The train-bands of certain specified counties were ordered to proceed forthwith to the borders. These, according to a tabular return given by Rushworth,

(1) Sir Alexander Leslie, of Balgony, returned to Scotland in 1638, was created Earl of Leven in 1641. (For abundant notices of his performances, see Index to Harte's *Hist. of Gustavus Adolphus*). Strafford affected to despise him, but Leslie had his revenge. "It is most true," he wrote, "Leslie can neither write nor read, and to boot a bastard. A captain he is, but no such great Kill-Cow as they would have him, never General to the King of Sweede, General of the forces (as they term the command, howbeit in itself not so good as that of colonel) of a Hanse Town, Lubeck, as I take it, and no more."—Wentworth to Sir John Hotham. (*Strafford Letters*, ii. 307.)

(2) Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, b. ii., 147 (edit. Oxon., 1852).—See also Clarendon, *Hist.*, i., b. ii., p. 43 (edit. 1849).

(3) "The Marquis of Hamilton avoided all occasion of beginning the war. He did not trouble a man on the shore with a shot." (Baillie's *Letters*, i., l. ii., p. 165.)—See also the Marquis's letter in Nalson, i. 228.

(4) Nalson, i. 216.

amounted in the aggregate to 19,438 foot and 1,233 horse, besides 1,350 draught horses.⁽¹⁾

The following letter was addressed to the lord-lieutenants:—"16 Car., 1640. The men to be raised are to be appointed to meet in companies of 100 a-piece at particular rendezvous in that C°. most convenient for each 100 men, to be weekly exercised with false fires or no fire, by each inferior officer, as the Lord-General shall send down to instruct them in their postures, and the use of their arms: to which purpose your Lordship is to cause the arms of the Trained Band to be lent unto them, which shall be re-delivered back when they shall march out of the C°. Your Lordship is likewise to take orders that there be prest, and sent with the said soldiers, one Drum and Drummer to every 100 men, who shall enter into his Majesty's pay as soon as the said soldiers shall march out of that C°." The men were also to be well clothed at the charge of the C°, to be repaid out of his Majesty's Exchequer. (Rushworth, vol. ii., p. 1,087.)

This number was somewhat increased when the King arrived in person with a large retinue, and by the nobility, who had been summoned to attend according to their rank.⁽²⁾ Royalty on the spot had,

(1) "A true list of the number of horse, pikemen, and musquetiers, dragoons, and curasiers, set out for the present service for Scotland at the charge of these counties and shires following, &c. (Westmoreland, Cumberland, Northumberland, and the town of Newcastle, were not to march into the field but upon special directions.) (Vol. i., pt. iii., 827.)

(2) "A proclamation commanding all noblemen, knights, gentlemen, and others, to repair to the North." (Rymer, *an*, 1639.)

doubtless, the effect of infusing some vigour in the preparations, and the King fancied that to proceed with dignity would have the effect of overawing the factions; and so there was an illustrious progress, a great show of nobility, gentry, and others, but "the soldiers were the least part of the army, and least consulted with."⁽¹⁾

There was a terrible lukewarmness apparent, and lord-lieutenants and others had difficulty in assembling the quotas of their counties, for the English in general regarded the issue of the expedition with feelings of indifference, or something more; in fact, the majority were sympathisers with the Scotch insurgents, and anticipated in any success of the Royal arms the forging of further trammels for themselves.

"Many old soldiers," we are told, "embraced the war for their profession; many voluntiers of the gentry tendered their services to the King; which being represented to the Privy Council, it was resolved that all subjects who voluntarily desire to arm themselves, either at home or from abroad, should have all liberty and encouragement, as likewise for assembly, exercising, and disciplining of voluntiers that shall offer their services in this kind; and that license in this behalf be given them under the hand of the Earl Marshal of England, which shall be to them a sufficient warrant."⁽²⁾

Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey,

⁽¹⁾ Clarendon, *Hist.*, i., b. ii., p. 165.—Rushworth, ii., pt. ii., 937.

⁽²⁾ Rushworth, i., pt. iii., p. 792.

a man of high honour and accomplishments, was appointed to the chief command of the army of operations,⁽¹⁾ if that term be admissible where nothing was effected. With the earl was associated, as his lieutenant-general, the gallant Essex (afterwards so conspicuous as the leader of the Parliamentary forces); and the Earl of Holland commanded the cavalry, of whose performances the less said the better.

The King was in a strait to find wherewithal for the subsistence of the army, and, having determined to rule without a Parliament, was obliged to resort to every possible expedient to raise money. Representations were made by the officers of the train-bands that their regiments would disband, if remittances did not reach them. It is a curious complication to find that Richelieu, then Prime Minister, for reasons of policy, had sent money to assist the Scottish insurgents,⁽²⁾ while the principal contributors to

King's Want
of Money.

⁽¹⁾ According to a letter published in the *Fairfax Correspondence* (vol. i., p. 359), the army amounted in May altogether only to 17,000 foot and 3,500 horse. This number the King purposed to increase. It is curious to notice the familiar tone he adopted towards his Ministers; a little piece of duplicity peeps out in the margin below:—

“His Majesty to Mr. Secretary Windebanke.

“WINDEBANKE,—

“This is not only to be a cover to my wife's letter, but also ye might advertise the Treasurer and Cottington, that I have thought fit to renforce my army with 4^m foot and 3^h horse, which will amount to 6^m and much increase of charge; but I hope they shall find in the end that it will not prove ill-husbandry.

You must give
out that it be
12^m foote, and
2^m horse.

“Newcastle, 17 May, 1639.”

(*Clarendon State Papers.*)

⁽²⁾ *Sydney Papers*, ii. 562.—*Lettres d'Estrades*, i. 10.

Charles's necessities were the Roman Catholics and the orthodox clergy of England. ⁽¹⁾

When we take into consideration the imperfect state of discipline of the English military forces at this time, we may well think it fortunate that this country had not been suddenly involved in any foreign war of magnitude, for decidedly it would have evinced its inferiority in the field. Englishmen were, doubtless, as convertible into good soldiers then as ever; but since the Spanish invasion nothing had occurred to rouse the martial spirit of the people. The bow, which had been the Englishman's pastime as well as pride, was now almost discarded, muskets and pikes were now in vogue in armies, necessitating the acting together in bodies, with a certain amount of drilling and discipline. It was the fashion for English gentlemen to engage in active service abroad, for foreign countries had not been spared as ours has ever been, and a state of war was generally their normal condition; but the trading classes of England were acquiring wealth, and military service was, consequently, a detriment to them. This expedition to Scotland, which scarcely deserves the term of war, demonstrated the inefficiency of the military system, when the trained bands of England were unable to cope with the ragged levies of the King's rebellious

(1) The Pope, however, did not approve of this contribution. See *Instructions to his Nuncio in England*, in Clarendon's *State Papers*, ii., p. 44: "You are to command the Catholics of England in general, that they suddenly desist from making such offers of men towards this Northern expedition, as we hear they have done, little to the advantage of their discretion."

Northern subjects. What then would have been the issue, if the contest had been between them and standing forces or veteran mercenaries?

It is pretty clear that the King's poverty alone had prevented his backing up his authority by means of mercenaries. Negotiations were at this time actually on foot, carried on through the agency of Colonel Gage, for the purpose of obtaining the services of 6,000 infantry and 400 cavalry from the (Spanish) Government of Flanders; Charles, in return, offering to recruit the English and Irish companies in the Spanish service in Flanders, yearly, with fresh soldiers. The negotiations fell to the ground, solely because the infante cardinal in command deemed it not prudent to spare so many veterans at that moment without running great hazard. The whole correspondence is given in Clarendon's *State Papers*, vol. ii., p. 29. It is difficult to imagine anything that could have added more greatly to the King's unpopularity than this. As it was, the soldiers who were raised in the several counties for service in Scotland were impressed with the popular rumours of the design of introducing Popery, if the Scots should be reduced to their obedience. ⁽¹⁾

If all had behaved like Lord Holland, whom Sir Philip Warwick properly appreciated, when he described him as a man "fitter for a show than a field," there would have been but a remote chance of such a consummation. On two occasions, when he had the opportunity of inflicting a serious blow on the mal-

Holland's
Inefficiency.

(1) Nalson, p. 495.

contents, he disgraced himself and those with him by ordering a retreat without striking a blow. The first occasion was when information had been received that Leslie and the Scotch army were in full march southwards. The King directed Holland to advance with the cavalry and some infantry and attack him. The King was then encamped with the army in an open field called the Berks, two miles west of Berwick. Holland came in sight of the enemy at Dunse, strongly posted on the side of a hill. He seems to have considered the position too strong for him, and at once turned about and retreated to the camp. A similar scene took place shortly afterwards, in the next month. The Scotch were again reported as advancing. Holland, with the cavalry, was immediately despatched to encounter them, and had with him altogether a force consisting of 1,000 horse and 3,000 foot. The weather was very hot (Clarendon says that it was the beginning of August, but it was evidently the 4th of June, according to a despatch of Sir Henry Vane), ⁽¹⁾ and the foot could not keep up with the horse. Holland came suddenly upon the Scotch army, at a place called Maxwell-heugh, a height above Kelso. The old campaigner had drawn up his force so as to look as imposing as possible. As soon as the English were discovered, he advanced with a handful of horse, 150, and some 5,000 or 6,000 foot. Holland reported them as 8,000 or 10,000. The English general sent a trumpet, commanding them to retire. The Scotch

⁽¹⁾ Rushworth, ii., pt. ii., 936.—Nelson, i. 231.—Compare Clarendon's *Hist.*, i., b. ii., p. 168.

inquired whose trumpet it was. They were answered that it was Lord Holland's. "He were best to be gone," said they. His lordship thought so too, and retreated upon his infantry, who were about three miles to the rear, and made the best of his way back to the camp, and gave his explanation of the circumstances to the king that night.

Clarendon remarks that "he might very safely have made a halt at Dunse, till his foot and artillery came up, or he might securely enough have engaged his body of horse against their whole pitiful army."⁽¹⁾

It is a curious affair, for Lord Holland had hitherto borne the character of a man of courage, and had seen service in Holland, nor was he suspected of playing a traitor's part, and he had with him some of the ablest and most experienced officers; but truly "nothing could be said in excuse of the counsel of that day, which might have made the King a glorious king indeed."⁽²⁾

Many of the troops of horse that accompanied the King were raised by men of fortune, and consisted entirely of gentlemen, gallantly mounted and armed, with their servants attending them, also well mounted.⁽³⁾ Such was the one of Sir John Suckling, the poet, consisting of 100 men, which he had placed at his

⁽¹⁾ Clarendon says that Holland had with him "3,000 foot, 2,000 horse, and a fit train of artillery." But Vane's letter, written at the time, gives only the strength just enumerated.

⁽²⁾ Clarendon, *Hist.*—Baillie says: "The soldiers that day were a great deal more nimble in their legs than arms, except their cavaliers, whose right arms were no less weary in whipping than their heels in jading their horses." (i., p. 210.)

⁽³⁾ Rushworth ii., p. ii., 929.

Majesty's disposal, at a cost, it is said, of £12,000. It formed part of Lord Holland's force on the above-mentioned occasion, and was splendidly attired in picturesque costume, their uniform being a white doublet with a scarlet coat, and a hat with a scarlet feather.⁽¹⁾

The King's eyes could not long be closed to the visible indifference of his army, and the general unpopularity of the war, and so he set himself to arrange plans for a pacification, and the terms were agreed upon on the 18th of June. But the concessions made by the King only opened the door for further demands; the treaty was scarcely ratified before it was broken, and the next year found Charles in full march again on his "covenanting rebelles."⁽²⁾

Disorganisa-
tion of Army.

An army of 30,000 men was ordered to be raised and to concentrate upon Newcastle. The fidelity of this force, or of any one similarly raised, could not be relied upon, composed as it was of men taken from their homes on an errand of which they disapproved, and who were devoid of any *esprit de corps*, in the military sense of the term. Mutinies arose in several counties before the regiments had marched to the North, and proclamations in consequence were issued in Warwickshire, Berkshire, Devonshire, and other counties,⁽³⁾ where several of the officers had been murdered by their men. The Earl of Northumberland, appointed to the chief command, wrote on the 4th

(1) See *Selections from the Works of Sir John Suckling*, p. 30. (1836.)

(2) A letter of the King to the Earl of Nithsdale, printed in Lingard (note *h*), *sub an.* 1640.

(3) Rymer, *sub an.* 1640, pp. 414, 415, 425.

of June, that "so general a defection in this kingdom hath not been known in the memory of any;"⁽¹⁾ and Sir Jacob Astley, one of the staunchest of the Royalist commanders, wrote from Selby, on the 10th of July: "I have orders from my Lord General to send 4,000 or 5,000 men to your Lordship (Conway), to Newcastle; but, considering there is not such a number yet come, and those that are come have neither colours nor halberds, and want drums, I forbear, &c. I am to receive all the arch-knaves in this kingdom, and to arm them at Selby. Before I came to Selby, some 500 of them were brought by Lieutenant-Colonel Ballard, and these beat up the officers and boors, and broke open the prisons, &c. Two days since, Colonel Lunsford's regiment came hither, who had, by the way, fought with all their officers."⁽²⁾

In other letters of the 13th and 18th of the same month, he says: "It would be impossible to keep those men from mutiny if they should miss their seven days' pay; they would disband, and rise against their officers, and spoil the country. Part of my regiment, raised in Daintree, is there totally disbanded, and Lieutenant-Colonel Culpepper, beastly slain by the Devonshire men; and 300 of the Lord Marquis's (Hamilton) regiment refused absolutely to go to Hull, for fear of being shipped," &c.

The Secretary of State, Sir Henry Vane, wrote on the 13th of August to Lord Conway, then com-

⁽¹⁾ *Sidney Papers*, ii. 654.

⁽²⁾ Letter, quoted in *Lord Conway's Relation*, in Dalrymple's *Memorials*, ii. 84, and in *Harl. MSS.*, vol. 1, 579.

manding at Newcastle, urging him to do his utmost to "keep the soldiers from mutiny until moneys came down, which his Majesty and the Council were hastening to him with all possible diligence."⁽¹⁾ The "march of intellect," too, was apparent, and was becoming dangerous, for the men debated the legality of their being ordered out of their counties, seeing that there was no *foreign* enemy to encounter.⁽²⁾

Martial Law.

It is obvious that, to repress these mutinies, a strong exertion of authority, and the strictest rigour of discipline, were absolutely necessary. But how were these to be reconciled with the Petition of Right, which, in its ardour for reform, had swept away martial law altogether? The Commons had manifestly deprived the Sovereign of a power absolutely essential for the preservation of the State. The law officers of the Crown declared that martial law could only legitimately be exercised when the army was actually in sight of an enemy; a dangerous decision, for clearly in the absence of an enemy, military subordination might be virtually at an end.⁽³⁾ General Lord Conway boldly asserted that if the King would give him a commission to execute military law, he would stand the consequence; and if any lawyer should deny his authority, he would hang him up, as the shortest way of refuting his argument.⁽⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*

⁽²⁾ "The hearts of all might be seen averse to this unjust war. The train-bands gave out peremptorily that they were not obliged to follow the King without the country." (Baillie's *Letters*, i. 198, edit. 1841.)

⁽³⁾ Tytler's *Mil. Law*, p. 69.

⁽⁴⁾ Rushworth, ii., pt. ii., p. 1,199.

The forces which the Covenanters could bring into the field were about equal in numbers to those which the King had prepared against them ;⁽¹⁾ but then they (the Covenanters) had the advantage of being heart and soul in their country's cause, they were inspirited by their late success, and they placed implicit confidence in the ability of their general. ⁽²⁾

As we had a peep at the Scots in the economy of their camp life in earlier times, it will be interesting to hear an account given of them by one of themselves at this juncture—a minister that accompanied the army :—

“ It would have done you good to have cast your Scots' Camp eyes athort our brave and rich hills, as oft as I did, for I was there among the rest, being chosen preacher by the gentlemen of our shire. I furnished to half-a-dozen of good fellows muskets and pikes, and to my boy a broad sword. I carried myself, as the fashions are, a sword, and a couple of Dutch pistols at my saddle; but I promise, for the offence of no man, except a robber in the body. . . . Our hill was garnished on the top, towards the south and the east, with our mounted cannon, well near the number of forty, great and small. Our regiment lay on the sides of the hill, almost round about. The place was not far from

(1) “The Scotch army was about 22,000 foot and 3,000 horse, besides two or three thousand carriage horses, with swords and hagbuts.” (Baillie, i.)

(2) “Such was the wisdom and authority of that old little crooked soldier (Leslie), that all, with an incredible submission, from the beginning to the end, gave over themselves to be guided by him.” (*Ibid.*, p. 213.)

a circle, . . . capable of tents for 40,000 men. The crowners (colonels) lay in canvas lodges, high and wide, their captains about them in lesser ones, the soldiers about all in huts of timber, covered with divot (turf) or straw. Those of the English that came to visit our camp, did gaze much with admiration upon the supple fellows, with their plaids, targes (shields), and dorlacks (daggers, or short swords). Our captains, for the most part, barons or gentlemen of good note; our lieutenants, most of old soldiers, who had served over sea in good charges. Every company had, flying at the captain's tent door, a brave new colour, stamped with the Scottish arms and this motto, '*For Christ's Crown and Covenant*,' in golden letters. Our general had a brave royal tent, but it was not set up. His constant guard was some hundreds of our lawyers, musquetiers, under Durie and Hopes'⁽¹⁾ command, all the way standing, in good arms with locked matches, before his high gate, well apparelled.

"Our soldiers were all lusty and full of courage, the most of them stout young plowmen; the only difficulty was to get them dollars or two the man, for the voyage from home, and the time they entered on pay; for among our yeomen, money at any time, let be then, uses to be very scarce; but, having once entered on the common pay, their sixpence a day, they were galliard (lively). None of our gentlemen were anything the worse of lying some weeks together in their

(¹) Sir Alexander Gibson, of Durie, and Sir Thomas Hope, two distinguished lawyers. (Note to Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, i., p. 212.)

cloaks and boots on the ground, or standing all night in arms in the greatest storm. Our meanest soldiers were always served in wheat-bread, a groat would have gotten them a lamb-leg, which was a dainty world to the most of them.

"It was not our general's intention to sit long at Dunse, only till our army was above 20,000 men, then he gave out obscurely to approach the English camp." (1)

The Scots' army was soon collected. The officers, most of them, as has just been remarked, old campaigners, had been retained in pay, and the men who had been disbanded after the pacification of Berwick, cheerfully returned to their colours. Three weeks' attentive training enabled Leslie with confidence to take the field, and he determined on going into England with the pretext of "presenting their grievances to the King's Majesty."

On the 20th of August, 1640, they crossed the Tweed at Coldstream. (2) We are told "they wore uniform of hodden grey, with blue caps, and each man had a moderate haversack of oatmeal on his back." (3)

Lord Conway was in command at Newcastle, as Lord Conway general of the horse, and a force of infantry was ordered to garrison the town. He had made no attempt to stop the progress of the enemy, as with inadequate and undisciplined forces he did not think fit to go out and meet them, since "he was not able to

(1) Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, i. 211.

(2) *Ibid.*, i. 256.

(3) Old Pamphlets, quoted in Carlyle's *Oliver Cromwell*, i., p. 132.

hinder their passage." (1) We may presume that it was not fear of the enemy that deterred him, for he expresses his belief that the unpaid English foot would "run over the country more than the Scots, who, he verily believed, would do no harm, and pay for what they have." Clarendon gives him a high character as a soldier. "He had served," says he, "under Lord Vere (Tilbury), whose nephew he was, and there was no action of the English, either at sea or land, in which he had not considerable command, and always preserved a more than ordinary reputation;" (2) but he is constrained to express his own conviction, that if Essex had had the direction of military affairs at this time, the result would have been very different. Strafford had been appointed to the chief command of the army of the North, in the place of the Earl of Northumberland, who had resigned on the plea of indisposition. (3) Strafford's energetic spirit could not brook this state of things: he received intelligence of the advance of the enemy, and that nothing was done to hinder him. He wrote accordingly to Conway in the following terms: "Your lordship will permit me," he writes, "to deal plainly with you. I find all men in this place (York) extremely ill-satisfied with the guiding of the horse, and publish it infinitely to your disadvantage, that, having with you 2,000 horse and 10,000 foot, you

(1) See *The Lord Conway's Relation* (written in vindication of his conduct on this occasion), in Dalrymple's *Memorials*, ii. 81.

(2) *Hist.*, i., b. ii.

(3) Sir Philip Warwick, *Memoires of King Charles I.*, p. 147.

should suffer an enemy to march so long a way, without any skirmish; nay, without once looking at them. It imports you most extremely by some noble action, to put yourself from under the weight of ill tongues. I advise that you, with all the horse, and at least 8,000 foot, and all the cannon you have, do march opposite to them, on this side of the river, and be sure, whatever follows, to fight with them upon their passage."

No wonder that the lord-general wrote strongly, for Newcastle was the Thermopylæ of the war, and ought to have been defended to the utmost. Had the Scotch not succeeded in passing the river and gaining possession of Newcastle, their army, from want of pay and provisions, would probably have been broken up.⁽¹⁾

Although this was offered as advice, Conway felt that it was a command, and saw that an attack must be hazarded, despite his own judgment. He went forward for four days, with 1,000 horse, without being able to effect any advantage, and retired before the enemy to Newcastle. The Scotch arrived at Newburne, about four miles from Newcastle. Conway met them with all the horse, and about 2,000 foot; the rest were kept in reserve at Newcastle, under Sir Jacob Astley.⁽²⁾

It is fair to say that Conway had, from the first, written to complain of the inadequate means placed

(1) "Our armie is already diminished; the straits of victualls, and discipline, has made manie to run away." (Baillie, i. 257.)

(2) Warwick, p. 144.

at his disposal, and had warned the Government that, as Newcastle was undefended, if attacked by artillery it must fall an easy victim. He represented that the men he had were undisciplined and clamorous for wages, and he considered them more dangerous to the cause than the Scots were as an enemy.

Newcastle
taken.

The English hastily threw up some earth-works, but these were overthrown by the fire of the Scotch artillery; and upon Colonel Lunsford's men, who had been posted there, giving way, the Scots threw a party of horse, "being gentlemen of the College of Justice troop," rapidly across the river, but who were driven back by Conway's horse. These, in their turn, were routed by a battery.⁽¹⁾ The Scotch army came across, and the English retired—their horse towards Durham,⁽²⁾ the infantry to Newcastle. The Bishops' War⁽³⁾ was at an end. The Scots, with their minis-

(1) Bishop Burnet (*Own Times*, i.) says the Scotch had some peculiar sort of guns, "an invention of white iron, tinned, and done about with leather, and corded so that they could serve for two or three discharges. They were light, and were carried on horses, and when they came to Newburn, the English army that defended the ford was so surprised with a discharge of artillery, some thought it magic, and all were put in such disorder, that the whole army did run with so much precipitation, that Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had a command in it, did not stick to own that till he passed the Tees, his legs trembled under him." Gustavus Adolphus had a portable leathern artillery, on which he set great store, and found very efficient on account of its easy transport. (See Index to Harte's *Gustavus Adolphus*). Leslie, probably, had provided some of these; a lesson he had learnt under his old master.

(2) "The truth is, our horse did not behave themselves well, for many of them ran away, and did not second those that were first charged." (Hardwicke, *State Papers*, ii. 162.)

(3) "The warre got the name of *bellum episcopale*." (*Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson*, p. 70.)

ters, Bible in hand⁽¹⁾—vowing brotherly love to the English, and declaring that their advance was but a friendly remonstrance—took possession of Newcastle next day;⁽²⁾ and the two northern counties remained in the undisputed possession of the insurgents.

Then followed the treaty of Ripon (October 1),
 “consummating in council the disgraces of the field,”
 as Eliot Warburton wrote.⁽³⁾ The Scotch reformers
 were to occupy (*pro tem.*) the counties of Northumber-
 land, Westmoreland, and Durham as securities for the
 payment of £850 per diem, which was the daily pay
 of their army till the peace was concluded; when they
 received, what was a great bonus for so poor a country
 as theirs, a large sum of money besides.⁽⁴⁾ Two
 armies had now to be provided for instead of one;

Treaty of
 Ripon.

(1) The Bishop of Wurtzburg and Bamberg being obliged to furnish a large contingent to the Imperial army at the beginning of the Bohemian wars, in 1618, affixed this device to his standards, “*Una manu gladium, altera Breviarium.*” (See Harte’s *Gust. Adolph.*, i. 375.)

(2) “To-morrow Newcastle was rendered to us. The souldiers and chief citizens had fled out of it in great haste. In the King’s magazine wer found good store of biskett and cheese, and 5,000 armes, muskets and pikes, and other provision. Messrs. Hendersoun and Cant preached to a great confluence of people on the Sondag.” (Baillie, i. 257.)

“And till they first began to *cant*
 And sprinkle down the covenant.”

Hudibras, pt. iii., can. ii., l. 765.

(3) *Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*, i. 176.

(4) £125,000 for five months’ subsistence of their army, and £300,000 as a friendly relief for their losses and necessities.” (Clarendon, ii. 309.)—“Three hundred thousand pound sterling, four and fifty hundred thousand merks Scotts is a prettie soume in our land, besyde the eighteen hundred thousand merks for our armie these last four months, and twentie-fyve thousand pound sterling for the fifth month coming.” (Baillie, i. 297.)

but the Parliament—which, after so long an interregnum, had to be summoned to vote the necessary supplies—did it ungrudgingly, for it felt that the money-payment to the Scotchmen was but the refunding a debt of gratitude to those who had done the Parliament's work, in frustrating the views of the monarch.

The Scots having now obtained all that they had demanded, and being flattered in the bargain—for the articles of pacification stated (ignominiously enough for the King) that they had been good subjects, and that their military expedition had been calculated for the King's honour and advantage—Charles vainly expected that they would now rest satisfied, and that for the future he might rely on their loyalty. So pocketing the humiliation, he repaired to Edinburgh, to open the Scotch Parliament in person, as a further means of courting popularity, thinking thereby to attract to himself the influence of his Northern subjects, as a set-off to the disaffected people of England.

Irish
Rebellion.

It was during the King's residence there that he received information of that fearful insurrection which had broken out in Ireland, by which, at the most moderate computation, the lives of 40,000 persons were sacrificed.⁽¹⁾

Charles anticipated that the Protestant ardour of the Scots—which had lately driven them with such alacrity to arms—would now impel them with addi-

⁽¹⁾ Clarendon, *Hist.*, i., b. iii.—May (*Parl. Hist.*, i. 326) says that 200,000 Protestants were massacred.

tional fervour to rush to the destruction of the Irish Papists ; but their zeal, when no longer stimulated by faction or by interest, had become very feeble. The King was obliged to have recourse for assistance to the English Parliament, which still maintained the consistent course it had hitherto pursued of exalting its own authority and diminishing that of the King.

The standing forces of Ireland—which, it has already been stated, had always existed there since the time of Edward IV.—had been greatly augmented in this reign. Under the lord-lieutenancy of the ill-requited and ill-fated Strafford,⁽¹⁾ an additional force of 8,000 men had been raised, and that nobleman had incorporated with them 1,000 men draughted from the old army, “all of them Protestants, to instruct and discipline the new : of these all the non-commissioned officers and subalterns were composed ; the superior officers were likewise Protestants.”⁽²⁾ The design was to have brought over this force to put down the insurrection of the Scots ; but the poverty of the King, and the decisive measures of the Covenanters, prevented its execution. The Parlia-

(1) Bitterly, in after years, must the King have repented of his abandonment of Strafford. Even amidst the rush and confusion of the battle-field, the spirit of the friend whom he had sacrificed seems to have haunted him. Among the correspondence which fell into the hands of the enemy, after the battle of Naseby, was a letter, written by the King to the Queen, containing the following passage :—

“Jan. 14, 1645.

“It is this, nothing can be more evident than that Strafford’s innocent blood hath been one of the great causes of God’s just judgments upon this nation, by a furious civil war, both sides hitherto being almost equally punished, as being in a manner equally guilty.”

(2) Carte’s *Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, i. 132.

ment regarded this army with a jealous eye, and insisted that it should be disbanded. The King assented, but gave orders to the lords-justices of Ireland, and to the Earl of Ormonde, his lieutenant-general there, "that any officer of the army should have free leave to transport what men he could get of that army, for the service of any prince in amity with this Crown." Shortly afterwards, at the earnest request of the Spanish ambassador, his Majesty consented that 4,000 of that army should be transported, for the service of the King of Spain, into Flanders; an arrangement which, no doubt, would have been agreeable to Charles, as, from the disposition evinced to assist him with troops, lately alluded to, he had every reason to hope that at a future time the services of those Irish soldiers might not be withheld from him. This, however, was no sooner known, than the House of Commons interfered, and passed a resolution under the name of "An Ordinance against raising and transporting of any of these men from Ireland for the service of any prince whatever."⁽¹⁾

The King was therefore obliged to prohibit the deportation, and a number of disbanded men was consequently turned loose in the country, ready for any dangerous work that might be cut out for them.

It is remarkable that, although the Houses of Parliament would not allow Charles to fulfil his

(¹) Clarendon, i., b. iii.—"In a conference with the Commons, the House of Lords resolves that this House deems it not fit, nor gives assent, that there should be any levies of men in Ireland, for the service of the King of Spain." (*Lords' Journals*, August, 1641, p. 381.)

agreement with the King of Spain, yet, after the disbanding of the two armies—English and Scotch—they “resolved that the House of Commons is of opinion, and holds it fit, that orders should be sent to the officers of the several ports, requiring them to permit all such soldiers of the late disbanded army as shall desire it, to pass beyond the seas, provided they take such oaths as are usually required according to the laws.”⁽¹⁾ We may find the reason of this in the fact that there had been “army plots,” and a monarchical feeling evinced by many of the soldiers; they had even insulted the guard of train-bands that had been appointed for the protection of the Houses, and so the Parliament had thought it safer that these turbulent *militaires* should have the option of being dispersed abroad.

The King, from the late restrictions on his prerogative, and from his want of pecuniary means, felt his utter inability to suppress that dreadful insurrection. He was obliged, therefore, to commit to the Parliament the charge and prosecution of all measures in relation to it. The Commons, who had been looking out for every opportunity of encroaching on

⁽¹⁾ *Lords' Journals*, Oct., 1641.—This, no doubt, alluded to the act passed in the year 1605 (3 Jac. I., c. 4, sec. 12), about the time of the Gunpowder Plot, and contained a curious recital, which has been copied into subsequent acts:—“And forasmuch as it is found by late experience that such as go voluntarily out of this realm to serve foreign princes, states, and potentates, are, for the most part, perverted in their religion and loyalty by Jesuits and fugitives, with whom they do then converse,” &c.

And it enacted, that any one who went out of the country without having taken the oath of allegiance to his Majesty, should be deemed guilty of felony.

the executive of the Crown, congratulated themselves on such a crisis, and immediately availed themselves of the commission, as though it were a transference into their hands of the whole military power of the Crown.⁽¹⁾

A bill was now prepared "for the better raising and levying of soldiers for the present defence of the kingdoms of England and Ireland." The King's power of impressment, except in the event of foreign invasion—a power exercised during all former times—was in the preamble declared illegal, and contrary to the liberty of the subject.⁽²⁾ Yet this power being necessary to be exercised at this time for the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland, authority was by this act given to the justices and others, to impress such a number of men as his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament should appoint; thus, in fact, enabling *themselves*, but not the *King*, to raise forces by impressment.

In order to avoid this difficulty, Charles offered to raise 10,000 volunteers for service in Ireland, and to proceed thither in person to take the command; but such an army might have been devoted to the King, which was in itself a sufficient reason for the Commons to decline the proposal.⁽³⁾ The King next, unwisely, came down in person to the House, and signified his readiness to pass the bill, provided the preamble were omitted, or a clause inserted saving his claim and the

(1) Tytler's *Mil. Law*, 71.

(2) Clarendon, ii. 273.—May, *Hist. of the Long Parl.*, i. 285.

(3) Rushworth, i., pt. iii., 560.

liberties of the people.⁽¹⁾ This interference, however, was pronounced to be a high breach of privilege. The King apologised for his error, and the bill in its integrity passed the two Houses, and received the Royal assent.

After the fatal indiscretion of "the arrest of the five members," the King had to eat further of the bread of humiliation. One great object of the Commons, as a means to an end, was to obtain the control of the militia. Upon no other measure had they been so urgent, and upon no other was Charles so immovable.⁽²⁾ The Parliament debated how far the power of the militia did inherently reside in the King, being now unsupported by any statute, and founded only upon immemorial usage. This question became at length the immediate cause of the fatal rupture between the King and his Parliament; the two Houses not only denying this prerogative of the Crown (the legality of which, perhaps, might be somewhat doubtful), but also seizing into their own hands the entire power of the militia, of the illegality of which step, says Judge Blackstone (*Comm.*, i. 412), there never could be any doubt at all. (See *Harl. MS.*, vii. 47, edit. 1811.) He offered, as a compromise, that if the Houses would suggest the names of those whom they wished to recommend for military com-

Power over
the Militia.

(1) "I will pass it with a *salvo jure* for king and people." (His Majesty's Speech to both Houses: *Commons' Journ.*, Dec. 3, 1641; *Lords'*, p. 476.)

(2) "And being asked by the Earl of Pembroke whether the militia might not be granted, as was desired by the Parliament, for a time, his Majesty swore by God, not for an hour." (*Rush.*, i., pt. iii., 522.)

mands, he would appoint them, provided not personally objectionable to him. Pro their exercise of military power, the Parlia took the command of all the garrisons an places. Sir John Hotham was appointed of Hull. Colonel George Goring,⁽¹⁾ go Portsmouth, was directed to obey no orders as he should receive from Parliament. Byron,⁽²⁾ the Lieutenant of the Tower, unexceptionable character, was displaced, and Conyers appointed in his room ; and an ordi prepared for the ordering of the militia in and Wales, appointing, by the authority of Houses, fifty-five lords and commoners lieu different districts, with power to nominate and officers, and to suppress insurrections, and invasions.⁽³⁾ It was resolved, at the that the kingdom be put into a posture of

(1) Eldest son of Lord Goring, afterwards Earl of Norfolk.

(2) "That bloody bragadochio," as the amiable Dr. Vicars styles him. (*Jehovah Jireh*, pt. iii., p. 143.)

(3) Rushworth, i., pt. iii., c. iv., p. 524. Also pp. 516

(4) "To the Head Constables of the Wapentake of every of them.

"Whereas, we have received an order from both Houses of Parliament for securing the country, and to that end are called to our assistance the Trained Bands, for suppressing assemblies ; these are therefore, by virtue of the said command you to give present notice to all the said Trained Bands, both horse and foot, within your Wapentake, that they assemble us, or some of his Majesty's Justices of Peace, at . . . 2 of the clock in the forenoon, completely furnished, to view the same, and then give them such directions as shall be in the furtherance of the said service. Fail not.

"Dated 6th Feb., 1641.

"THOMAS GOV

"THOMAS STC

(From *Fairfax Cor.*, Chas. I., vol. ii., 365.)

This vote was equivalent to a declaration of war; Hostile Vote. the gauntlet was now flung down. It was necessary to repel force by force. Meanwhile the King had retired to York, and held his court there. The Queen had proceeded to Holland, on the pretext of the marriage of her daughter, but her real object, of raising money to procure arms and ammunition by pawning the Crown-jewels, being well guessed at. The King prohibited by proclamation all persons whatever from obeying the orders of Parliament, and at the same time issued his commissions of array for calling out and mustering the militia in several counties, according to ancient custom, in opposition to the Parliament's ordinance for levying the militia.⁽¹⁾ The legality of this, however, is questionable, notwithstanding the immemorial practice of the Crown; for the Petition of Right, which had received the royal assent, established the people's immunity from all taxes, aids, or other charges, than such as were imposed by consent of Parliament: this command, therefore, from the King alone to draw forth the militia, and arm it at the expense of the counties, might certainly be construed into a violation of that statute.⁽²⁾ The militia was, however, ordered to be in readiness, either by the command of

(1) "His Majestie's Instructions to his Commissioners of Array for the severall Counties of England, and the Principality of Wales; And to be observed by all Sheriffs, Majors, Justices of the Peace, Bayliffs, Headboroughs, Constables, and all other His Majestie's loving subjects whatsoever.—Yorke, Sept., 1642." (*King's Pamphlets*, E. 117, Brit. Mus.)

(2) Tytler's *Mil. Law*, 75.

the King or of the Parliament, and the order obeyed either for the one or the other, as suited the tempers of the counties.

The ostensible authority of the sovereign was still considered essential to the exercise of the military power, and the Commons, therefore, made use of the King's name, and issued their orders as those of "His Majesty, signified by both Houses of Parliament;" thus drawing a distinction for the first time between the office and the person of the King, and employing against him those very forces which they levied in his name and by his authority."⁽¹⁾

(1) "Instructions agreed upon by the Lords and Commons in Parliament for the Deputy-Lieutenants for the counties of

"Whereas there hath been of late a most dangerous and desperate design upon the House of Commons, which we have just cause to believe to be in effect of the bloodie counsils of Papists and other ill-affected persons who have already raised a rebellion in the kingdom of Ireland, and by reason of many discoveries, we cannot but fear they will proceed not only to stir up the like rebellious and insurrections in the kingdom of England, but also to back them with forces from abroad. It is ordained by the Lords and Commons, now in Parliament assembled, that shall have power to assemble and call together all and singular *His Majestie's* subjects within the county of as well within liberties as without, that are meet and fit for the wars, and them to train, exercise, and put in readiness, and after their abilities well and sufficientlie, from time to time, to cause to be arrayed and weaponed, and to take the muster of them in places most fit for that purpose, and shall have power within the same countie to nominate and appoint such persons of quality as to him shall seem meet, to be his Deputie-Lieutenant, to be approved of by both Houses of Parliament; and that any one or more of the said deputies so assigned and approved of, shall, in the absence or by command of the same have power and authoritie to do and execute within the countie all such power and authoritie before in this present ordinance ordained, and so shall have power to make colonels and captains and other officers, and to remove out of their places, and to make others from time to time, as he shall think fit for that purpose; and his deputies, colonels, captains, and

The initiative of the war was taken by the King. The Parliament—conscious that a crisis was at hand—made it a matter of principle and policy that the first open act of aggression should proceed from Charles.⁽¹⁾ He had resolved to proceed to Hull, and secure the arms and other munitions of war which it contained. The possession of the town itself would have been a grand point for the King, for Hull was then one of the most important places in the kingdom.⁽²⁾ It was the great seaport of the North, where supplies could be most conveniently received from the

First Act of
Civil War.

other officers, shall have further power and authoritie to lead, conduct, and employ, the persons aforesaid arrayed and weaponed, as well within the countie of . . . as within any other part of this realm of England or dominion of Wales, for the suppression of all rebellions, insurrections, and invasions that may happen, according as they, from time to time, shall receive directions by his Majestie's authoritie, signified to them, by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament; and it is further ordained, that such persons as shall not obey in any of the premises shall answer their neglect to the Lords and Commons in a Parliamentary way, and not otherwise, nor elsewhere, and that every the powers granted as aforesaid shall continue until it shall be otherwise ordered or declared by both Houses of Parliament, and no longer.

"JOHN BROWN, Clerk, Parl."

(*King's Pamphlets*, E. 117, 4th Lond., 1642.)

⁽¹⁾ Lord Nugent's *Hampden*, ii. 151.

⁽²⁾ At the commencement of the Covenanters' war, the following "Instructions for Capt. W. Legge,* on receiving the ordnance, arms, and provision, sent to Kingston-upon-Hull," will be found in Rushworth, i., pt. iii., 33. They afford us a list of arms in use, and the

* This is, doubtless, "Honest Will Legge" (see Collins' *Peerage*, Dartmouth), the faithful friend of Prince Rupert, and the devoted servant and soldier of the King. He had served as a volunteer under Gustavus Adolphus, in 1630, and afterwards in the Low Countries under Prince Maurice. On his return to England, he was appointed "keeper of the King's wardrobe during life," and soon after "groom of the bed-chamber." At the battle of Worcester he was wounded and taken prisoner, and would have been executed, but that his wife (a daughter of Sir W. Washington, and niece of the Duke of Buckingham) contrived his escape from Coventry gaol in her clothes. His son, in 1672, was raised to the peerage, inherited lineally by the present Earl of Dartmouth.

Continent, and it contained arms for about 30,000 men, both foot and horse, which had been collected there during the Scotch rebellion.⁽¹⁾ The King's intention was, however, only to possess himself of the stores, not of the town, for the little force that attended him would have been insufficient for such a purpose. The Parliament was quite alive to the

Government prices at which they were to be issued to the train-bands, who were supplied at the country's expense.

"The prices of powder, match, and arms to be sold, viz. :—

Powder	...	...	...	18d. the pound.
Match	...	...	...	£1 10s. the c. weight.
Musquets	...	...	...	18s. 6d. the piece.
Bandaleers	...	...	...	3s. 0d. the piece.
Rests for Musquets	...	...	...	10d. the piece.
Musquet-shot	...	...	...	18s. the c. weight.
Long Pikes	...	...	...	3s. 2d. the piece.
Corslet, consisting of Back, Brest,	}			22s. the piece.
Gorget, and Head-piece				
Swords	...	...	...	7s. 6d. the piece.
Girdles and Hangers	...	...	...	2s. the piece."

⁽¹⁾ Rushworth, i., pt. iii., 564.—Simultaneously with the preparation of these pages, a trial is recorded in the daily newspapers, wherein the facts respecting the King's bootless visit to this town are recited. *Vide Times*, Saturday, Nov. 23, 1861 :—

"The Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Kingston-upon-Hull, v. The Attorney-General.

"This was a bill by the corporation, claiming, as against the Crown, the site of the ancient citadel and fortifications of Hull, erected by Henry VIII. and Charles II., and the adjoining foreshore, upon the same being disused for military purposes since 1858. The bill contained a short summary of the early history of Kingston-upon-Hull, from 1377, and that in 1640 Charles I. attempted, unsuccessfully, to appoint Sir Thomas Glenham governor extraordinary of Hull, but that Sir John Hotham was selected for that office by Parliament, and that shortly afterwards the King summoned Hotham to surrender Hull, but, with many protestations, was refused admittance into the town. The Parliamentary forces continued to hold the town and castle until the Restoration, when possession was resumed by the Crown."

importance of the place, and had, in appointing Sir John Hotham to be governor, selected an officer in whom they had reason for placing confidence; and about 800 of the train-bands of Yorkshire had been ordered to do duty there. But that no uncertainty might exist as to the stores, the Parliament had ordered Lord Warwick, their admiral, to proceed by sea, and embark them and convey them to the Tower. Hotham had already received orders to that effect. The King felt equally determined to recover what he considered his own property, as the most part of the stores had been purchased, not by Parliamentary grants, but by the contributions of the clergy and others for the Scotch war.⁽¹⁾

On the 23rd of April the King set forth on horseback from York, and arrived before the gates of Hull at eleven A.M., escorted by three hundred gentlemen and their attendants. Charles entertained hopes that, if he presented himself before the commencement of hostilities, Hotham, overawed by his presence, would admit him and his retinue. But the governor was on his guard. He shut the gates, and refused to open them, unless his Majesty would condescend to enter with only twelve attendants. From eleven o'clock till five did the King hold parley with Sir John, endeavouring to induce him to admit him; but in vain. At that Beverley Gate the monarch of England received the first lesson of actual rebellion; and that conference may be set down as the opening

King Charles
before Hull.

⁽¹⁾ Rushworth, i., pt. iii., 564. "Our magazine and munition (our own proper goods)." (His Majesty to House of Commons.)

scene of the tragic play of the Civil War; and there the King incurred the deliberate risk of ungraceful discomfiture: strange, in a person possessed of so high a sense of dignity! ⁽¹⁾

The opposition encountered at Hull afforded the King a plea for establishing a body-guard, and he selected for that honour a regiment of train-bands (Sir Robert Strickland's), about 600 strong, to be paid every Saturday at his own charge; and "appointed such gentlemen as were willing to list themselves into a troop of horse, and made the Prince of Wales their captain." ⁽²⁾

The Parliament, of course, resolved "that the King, being seduced by evil counsel, intended making war against his Parliament, which, in all its consultations and actions, had proposed no other end but the care of his kingdom and the performance of all duty and loyalty to his person; that this attempt was a breach of the trust reposed in him by his people, contrary to his oath, intending to a dissolution of the Government; and that whosoever should assist him in such a war was a traitor by the fundamental laws of the kingdom." ⁽³⁾

⁽¹⁾ See Nugent's *Hampden*, 233.—*Fairfax Correspon. Civil Wars*, ii. 12.

⁽²⁾ Clarendon, *Rebell.*, ii., b. v.

⁽³⁾ Clarendon, i. 506-18.—Rushworth, iv. 565.—*Journals*, v. 16.

CHAPTER XVII.

OPEN REBELLION—CIVIL WAR COMMENCES—ESSEX APPOINTED TO COMMAND PARLIAMENT'S FORCES—SETTING UP OF THE ROYAL STANDARD AT NOTTINGHAM—PRINCES RUPERT AND MAURICE ARRIVE—LOSS OF PORTSMOUTH—CRUELITIES AND AMENITIES OF THE WAR—THE KING'S SUPPORTERS—COAT AND CONDUCT MONEY—BAD PROSPECTS OF ROYAL CAUSE AT FIRST—WANT OF MONEY AND ARMS—COMPARISON OF ROYAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ARMIES—GENERALS—CROMWELL AND HIS IRON-SIDES—ARMOUR WORN AT THE PERIOD.

THE Parliament now threw off all disguise, and made every exertion to act in opposition to the King. Essex was appointed lord-general, and both Lords and Commons declared that they would live and die with him in the national quarrel.⁽¹⁾ The army under his command was to consist of twenty regiments of foot, amounting in total to about 24,000 men; seventy-five troops of horse, 5,000 men; five troops of dragoons, 500 men; besides a train of artillery and pioneers. Rebellion.

The train-bands of London, under Sergeant-Major General Skippon,⁽²⁾ mustered daily for exercise, and

⁽¹⁾ May, ii. 33.

⁽²⁾ Rushworth.—Clarendon says that this was an "office never before heard of" (namely, commandant of the train-bands). Philip Skippon, by long and meritorious service in Holland, had raised himself from the ranks to the command of a company. Returning to England he obtained the captaincy of the Artillery Garden, which was the school of arms for the metropolitan district, and he was now

professed the greatest attachment to the cause; the arms from Hull had been safely removed to the Tower; a forced loan, at eight per cent.—to be paid either in cash, plate, or jewels—replenished the treasury; large sums were employed in the purchase of *materiel*; £100,000 was withdrawn from the sum voted to suppress the Irish rebellion; ⁽¹⁾ the Earl of Warwick was named, by ordinance, admiral of the fleet—the officers and seamen of which, ever since the *vexata quæstio* of ship-money, had, as a body, taken part with the merchants in favour of the popular interest, placed themselves and their ships under his command; and a considerable force instantly sailed for the Humber.

Setting up the
Standard.

In August of that year (1643), the King had proceeded to Nottingham and set up his standard there—a formal declaration of hostilities, and the official summoning of the subjects to arms. The reason which induced Charles to take this decisive step was the fact of Portsmouth being besieged by a Parliamentary army: Goring, who had been appointed governor by the Parliament, having had the duplicity to make them believe that he was a convert to its views. Clarendon draws an admirable sketch of the life of this gifted and unprincipled man. “He had such a dexterity in his addresses,” says he, “in reconciling the greatest prejudice and aversion, that he

promoted to be major-general, or as that rank was then termed, sergeant-major general, of the city militia. Clarendon (iv. 198) admits that he was “a good officer, a man of order and sobriety, and untainted with vice;” yet illiterate, and prejudiced against the Church.

⁽¹⁾ May, ii., p. 33.

was enabled to deceive every one that trusted in him. As a proof of this, he had actually received £4,000 from his new masters for strengthening the fortifications, while at the same time he had the baseness to take from the Queen £13,000 (which she had raised by a sale of plate and jewels) to gain over the garrison." When the Parliament had resolved on organising an army, Goring was appointed lieutenant-general of their horse. Essex was very desirous of securing the co-operation of one who had so high a military reputation as Goring, and he was ordered to repair to his command; but, being never at a loss for excuses, he neglected the summons, and continued at Portsmouth. At last, being ordered peremptorily to join, he wrote what Clarendon calls "a jolly letter," but which was evidently a very impudent one, and plainly stated that as Portsmouth was the King's, he could not leave it without his Majesty's permission. ⁽¹⁾ "This declaration of the governour of a place which had the reputation of being the only place of strength in England, and situated upon the sea, put them into many apprehensions."⁽²⁾

On receipt of this intelligence, Sir William Waller, with all the train-bands of Hampshire, was immediately ordered to invest Portsmouth by land, and Lord Warwick to blockade it by sea. To the King and those with him this news was highly inspiring; and after the repulse at Hull, and other disastrous matters, they stood much in need of en-

⁽¹⁾ See Blaauw's *Civil War in Sussex*, p. 7.

⁽²⁾ Appen. E., Clarendon, iii.

couragement. Charles rejoiced at the effect likely to be produced by "the early declaration of so important a place, and that Goring had returned to his duty and allegiance, and he doubted not but that so skilful an officer had made every preparation for defence;" at all events, that he would be able to hold it out until a force was collected to relieve it. Essex and his officers were proclaimed traitors, a compliment which, of course, the Parliament returned, by declaring the Royal proclamation a libellous and scandalous paper. At the same time, Charles required "all men who could bear arms, to repair to him at Nottingham on the 22nd of August following, on which day he would set up his standard there, when all good subjects were ordered to attend."⁽¹⁾

Goring, the treacherous, had hastened the crisis so long anticipated. After all the commissions of array had been issued, it was necessary to select some point of general rendezvous, and Nottingham was the place

(¹) The Royal standard had on it the device of a hand pointing to a crown, with the motto "Give to Cæsar his due." Clarendon (who must have been present at that memorable ceremony) and May, the Parliamentary historian, state that it occurred on the 25th of August. (In appendix E to Clarendon's *Hist.*, the 22nd is mentioned.) Baker's *Chronicle* has the 20th; Ludlow and Bulstrode say it was on the 24th; Guizot the 22nd; and Rushworth and Lilly, the 22nd. The *Mercurius Belgicus* confirms this last: "1642. August 22nd. His Majesty set up his Standard Royal at Nottingham, for raising of forces to suppress the rebels, then marching against him." The Journal of the House of Commons of the 24th proves that intelligence, at that date, had been received of the standard having been set up, and that a debate had ensued in consequence. The probability is, that the standard was first raised on the 22nd, and continued to wave over Nottingham until the 26th.

fixed upon by the King, after many debates with his council.

"The setting up of the standard," as it was somewhat ostentatiously expressed, was but a sorry inauguration of hostilities. The whole affair was flat, the weather was gloomy, and the ceremonial had not the effect of producing that rush of loyalty which was expected. "There was little other ceremony," says Clarendon, "than the sound of a few drums and trumpets; melancholy men observed many ill presages about that time. There was but one regiment of foot yet brought together; so that the train-bands, which the sheriff had drawn together, were all the strength the King had for his person and the guard of his standard. There appeared no conflux of men in obedience to the proclamation; the arms and ammunition were not yet come from York, and a general sadness covered the town.

"The standard was blown down the same night by a very strong and unruly wind, and could not be fixed again for a day or two, until the tempest was allayed. This was the melancholy state of the King's affairs when the standard was set up."⁽¹⁾

(¹) *Hist.*, vol. iii., b. v., p. 191.—"Col. Sherrington Talbot was at Nottingham when King Charles I. did set up his standard upon the top of the tower there. He told me that the first night the wind blew it so, that it hung down almost horizontal, which some did take to be an ill omen." (John Aubrey, *Mems.*, 41.)—Rushworth says, "The standard was taken out of the castle, and carried into the field, a little on the back side of the castle wall;" and that it resembled the City streamers used at the Lord Mayor's Show; that above 2,000 persons were present altogether; and that at night it was carried back to the castle, and set up again next day. (i., pt. iii., 783.)

It was here that the King's nephews, Rupert and Maurice, joined the army. The former had been appointed to command the horse, and he infused fresh life to the cause; as Sir Philip Warwick observed, "He put that spirit into the King's army, that all men seemed resolved."⁽¹⁾ But in the midst of the rejoicings consequent upon the arrival of the young princes, the news arrived that Portsmouth had fallen, "which almost struck the King to the heart."⁽²⁾

Commission
of Array.

On the 29th of August, his Majesty issued the following proclamation and instruction to the Commissioners of Array:—

Whereas a desperate and dangerous Rebellion is raised, and an Army marching against Us, and such other of Our good Subjects whose Loyalty and Affection is eminent unto Us, in severall Countiees of the kingdome, under pretence of some Authority from both Our Houses of Parliament, and the same is done by our consent, and for the safety of our Person, whereby many of our loving Subjects are misled and engaged in undutifull and disloyall Actions against Us their Sovereigne, and to oppose persons immediately authorized by Us, as disturbers of the peace: We do, for the Information of all Our good Subjects, that they may bee no longer corrupted or seduced by these false and damnable infusions, declare, That We do disavow Our consent to any of the pretended Ordinances, and do protest against the same, and all the proceedings thereupon, as seditious and treasonable to Our Person, Crowne, and Dignity, And do declare, That the Army now under the command of the Earle of Essex, and raised in any part of the Kingdome by his direction, or by the direction of any pretended Ordinance, is raised against Us, and to take

⁽¹⁾ *Memoires*, 277.

⁽²⁾ Clarendon, *Hist.*—"Goring then went to France," as Bulstrode says, "with the money he had received on both sides, without making good his promises to either." That author adds, "That if his conscience and integrity had equalled his wit and courage, he had been one of the most eminent men of his age. His subsequent return and command in the army was, doubtless, occasioned in a great measure by the very active assistance which he afforded to the Queen, whilst in France, in procuring both money and arms." (See Note to Evelyn's *Journals*, v. 110.)

away Our life from Us, And that he, and all who shall adhere to him, are Traytors by the known established Lawes of this Kingdom: And therefore Our expresse command unto you, and to every of you is,

“ I.

“ That you forthwith raise all possible power for the apprehension of the said Earle of Essex, and his Confederates; and that with such forces of Horse and Foot you shall fight with, kill, and slay all such as shall by force oppose you in the execution of these Our Commands, and such who shall presume to put the Ordinance of the Militia in execution against our expresse pleasure and consent. And you shall pursue the said Rebels and Traytors in the said Counties, or in any other Counties or parts of the Kingdome into which they shall retire themselves. All which forces, so to be raised, shall have the same pay as the rest of Our Army is to have.

“ II.

“ You shall defend and protect all Our Subjects from violence and oppression by the illegall pretended Ordinance concerning the Militia, the pretended Ordinance for the Earle of Essex to be Generall, or any other Ordinance to which We have not or shall not give Our consent. And shall not suffer any of Our loving Subjects to be troubled or molested for refusing to submit to the said pretended Ordinances, but shall assist and defend them from any Summons, Messengers, Serjeant, or Warrant, which shall disturbe them for the same. And the said Messengers or Serjeants you shall apprehend and commit to Prison as seditious Disturbers of the Peace of the Kingdom.

“ III.

“ You shall, to your utmost power, assist the execution of Our Commission of Array, which ought to bee obeyed by the known Lawes of the Land; And if any Factions or Seditious Persons shall raise any Power to oppose Our said legall Commission, or the execution thereof, you shall, in your severall Counties, levie men, and them lead out of your said Counties to the place where such force is raised, and suppress the same. More especially, you shall be ayding and assisting to the Lord Marquisse Hertford, who is authorized, by Our Commission, Generall of Our Forces in the Western parts; and to the Earle of Cumberland Our Lieutenant General for the County of Yorke; and to the Lord Strange, and Colonell Goring: And to that purpose you shall levy such other Forces of Horse and Foote as the said Marquisse shall, by his Commission, give you power to do, under such Colonels, Commanders, and other officers as shall be by him appointed, or directed within the severall Counties mentioned in his Commission, as the Earle of Cumberland, and as the Lord Strange shall likewise direct in the Counties within their severall Commissions.

“ IV.

“ Our expresse pleasure and Command is, That you disarme all

Popish Recusants, and all such other dangerous and ill-affected Persons, and Brownists, Anabaptists, and other Sectaries, as well Clergymen, as others, as have testified, or shall testifie their ill disposition to the peace and Government of the Kingdome. And you shall endeavour, by causing Our severall declarations, Messages, and Answers to be publicly read in Churches and other places, to cleare Our proceedings from all false imputations and aspersions; and shall from time to time certifie Us of all things necessary for the publique Service. And that Our directions to you, and your advertisements to Us may have a cleere and ready passage We do hereby Command all Post-Masters, That they do not suffer any Letters or other Dispatches, to or from Us, to be intercepted or stayed, as they will answer the contrary at their utmost perils. And if any bold person by what authority soever, shall presume to make such stay of those Dispatches, you shall apprehend such persons, and shall give all assistance, and protection to those persons employed in such Dispatches.

“V.

“If you shall finde any disaffected persons raising any parties against Us, spreading scandals or imputations to Our proceedings, like to disturb the peace of the Kingdome, you shall cause all such persons (upon good proofs of their misdemeanors) to be apprehended and committed to prison, till they shall answer their Offences in such manner as is agreeable to Law and Justice.

“VI.

“You shall take from the said Rebels and Traytors, and their Adherents, all Arms, Ordinance, and Ammunition; and such as they have taken from any of Our good Subjects, you shall restore againe to the true Owners. And whereas divers Seditious persons, under pretence of Commissions from the Earle of Essex, presume to Levy Horse and Foote, and to collect money for the same, you shall seize upon all Horses, Armes, Ammunition, Money, Plate, or other provisions whatsoever, raised or provided under any such Pretences, and without Our expresse Authority, for the fomenting, or maintaining any such unnaturall and unlawfull War against Us, the Religion, and Law of the Kingdome. And you shall assure all such Our well affected Subjects, who shall contribute any Aid and Assistance to Us, in this Our great necessity, or observe these Our Instructions, That We will protect them with our utmost Power, and venture our Life and Crowne in their just Defence, Which Resolution of ours, you shall publish and declare upon all occasions for the better encouragement of all our good Subjects in that behalfe.

“Given under Our Privy Signet, at Our Court at *Nottingham*, the 29 of *August*, 1642.”

The events of the calamitous war that ensued are matters of history with which all persons interested in the English annals are familiar, the details of which devolve on the general historian; but before taking leave of this part of the subject, it will be apposite to examine somewhat as to the organisation of those armies of fellow-countrymen, that fought so fiercely against one another. Horrible as, at best, must be every civil war, yet this English one was, perhaps, attended with fewer atrocities than have usually characterised a state of things so unnatural; witness the French and German wars. Cruelties there must have been, perpetrated on either side, for the nature of a civil war is necessarily exasperating, when personal hatred is added to all the other bad feelings which ordinary warfare excites.

One of the most cruel incidents during this unhappy period was the order by the Parliament that all troops that came from Ireland to fight under the Royal banner (denounced as "Irish rebel Papists") should be denied quarter, and that all such taken prisoners should be hanged. Cruelties.

Worse, however, than this was the scene that occurred after Naseby, where women were mutilated and slaughtered. A Puritan writer, who boasts triumphantly that "the Lord did show himself" on that occasion, states that "one hundred of them (women) were slain upon the ground, and most of the rest were marked in their faces or noses with the slashes and cuts, and some cut off; just rewards for such wicked queans." All were slaughtered indis-

criminally, under the title of "Irish women." Afterwards he writes that there were "slain on the whole, in fight and flight, about 3,000 men, and between three and four hundred Irish queans."⁽¹⁾

The perpetration of these enormities was not, unfortunately, confined to one side; and on one occasion we hear of the Royalists, under Prince Rupert, committing themselves to a wholesale butchery of men, women, and children—at least, according to the account given by the other side.⁽²⁾ At the siege of Nantwich, the women are recorded as having participated in the defence of the town, by pouring hot brine upon the assailants.⁽³⁾

Amenities.

In some instances the war was carried on by the chief performers with the amenities of polished life; for instance, Rupert, like "The Duke" in the Peninsula, sometimes relaxed his military cares by the sports of the field, of which he was an enthusiast.

(¹) Vicars' *Jehovah Jireh*, pt. iv., p. 163. Also before, "they within (at Grenville's house at Tavistock), crying out for quarter, which was granted to all except bloody Irish rogues." (*Ibid.*, pt. iii., 297.)

(²) "There came letters also on Thursday last from Bristol, by which we were informed of the taking of Cirencester by Prince Robert, on Friday last; that after the town had stood it out in fight four hours, and killed a great number of the Cavaliers, above 1,000, as is conceived, the enemy shooting a grenade into a barn, full of corn, set it on fire, which so annoyed the townsmen that they were forced to give ground, and the enemy entered the town, and being much enraged with their losses, put all to the sword they met with, both men and women and children, and in a barbarous manner murdered three ministers, very godly and religious men." (*Special and Remarkable Passages expounded to both Houses of Parliament, Feb. 9, 1642.* In King's Collection of Pamphlets, British Museum.)

(³) "The great service of the townswomen headed by an heroine of the name of Brett, who defended the walls with the utmost bravery, by pouring hot brine upon the assailants." (Partridge, *Hist. of Nantwich*, p. 616.)

The capture of his falconer gave Essex the opportunity of performing an act of graceful liberality.

Extract of a letter from Lord Essex to Sir Samuel Luke, March, 1644:—

“I am informed that the Prince’s falconer and hawks were taken by your troops, which, if you find to be so, I desire you will send them both unto the Prince, as from me.”⁽¹⁾

This act of courtesy was gratefully acknowledged by Colonel Legge, from Oxford, in the Prince’s absence.

Again, Sir Thomas Fairfax being surrounded by the Earl of Newcastle at Bradford, resolved to cut his way out to Leeds. He was accompanied by his wife. She was taken prisoner; but not many days after, the Earl sent back the lady in his own coach.⁽²⁾

The King found himself supported in the civil war by the bulk of the nobility and gentry, by the Church of England, and by the Roman Catholics. The adherence of the two last was a more than questionable benefit, for the former of the two endeavoured to inculcate such high doctrines of monarchy and Church as were obnoxious to the majority of their congregations; and on account of the unpopularity of the latter, Charles was unable at first to avail himself of their assistance; he even issued a proclamation that no Papists should serve him in the army;⁽³⁾ and it was only when his affairs grew from bad to worse, that he saw the necessity of making no

⁽¹⁾ Ellis’s *Orig. Letters*, cccclxxxi., 3 S., vol. iv.

⁽²⁾ *Fairfax Corres.*, i. 99.

⁽³⁾ Aug. 10, 1642.—Rushworth, i., pt. iii., 772.

distinction of creeds, and of strengthening his hands wherever he could.⁽¹⁾

On the other hand, the City of London and most of the great corporations, and the commercial portion of the community in general, supported the democratic views of the House of Commons. The counties were divided in their interests according to the influence of the landed proprietors, but generally they were in favour of Parliament *versus* King.⁽²⁾

No alteration had hitherto taken place here in the mode of raising armies, which were still composed of the militia⁽³⁾—men obliged to serve, and a sprinkling of volunteers: these were, however, mostly, if not exclusively, men who sought commands as officers, having seen service abroad. Every militia-man ordered upon active service received *presse*, or *prest-money*—a bounty on joining—and, since the commencement of the reign of Henry VII., he was

(1) "This rebellion is grown to that height, that I must not look to what opinion men are, who at this time are willing and able to serve me. Therefore I do not only permit, but command you, to make use of all my loving subjects' services, without examining their consciences (more than their loyalty to me), as you shall find most to conduce to the upholding of my just regal power." (Ellis, *Orig. Letters*.)

(2) Rushworth, i., pt. iv., 630.

(3) "A letter to the justices of Salford Hundred, dated 25th of September, 1590, requires their presence and attendance at the next general muster of the Militia of Lancashire. (*Harl. MS.*, 1,926, art. 100, fol. 105.)—This is the first time we find the soldiers raised in the country called 'Militia;' a term which Jacob (*Law Dict.*) applies to the trained bands raised in counties, and under the direction of the lieutenancy." (*Lancash. Lieut.*, 231.)—Again, the term seems used for the military government. "P. S.—You may be pleased to move the militia, that this bearer may have some gratuity," &c. Lewis Dives. (Copied in Warburton's *Prince Rupert*, iii. 148.)

entitled to a coat and marching allowance. This was called "coat and conduct-money." These charges varied according to the times. In 1492 the conduct-money was calculated at the rate of 6d. for every twenty miles each soldier should march, to be reckoned from his residence to the place of joining the army—each soldier to swear to the number of miles marched by him.⁽¹⁾ In 1574, it was fixed at a halfpenny per mile.⁽²⁾ In 1627, coat-money appears to have been settled at 12s. 6d., and conduct-money at 8d. per diem, accounting twelvemiles for a day's march. In 1640, it was 8d. per diem, but the day's march was not less than fifteen miles.⁽³⁾ Coat and conduct-money was sometimes advanced by the different counties wherein the troops were raised, to be afterwards repaid by Government. From a speech made in the House of Commons by Sir J. Culpeper, we may infer that Charles's necessities prevented these county charges being discharged. "Coat and conduct-money," says he, "acquired as a loan, or pressed as a due, in each respect equally a grievance. The trained band is a militia of great strength and honour, without charges to the King, and deserves all due encouragement."⁽⁴⁾

(1) Rymer, *sub ann.*

(2) "The Queene's Ma^{tie} did allow for conduct money to everie souldier a half peney a myle from the hundreth where he dwelleth, unto the towne of Liverpoole." (MS. quoted in *Lancash. Lieut.*, 65.

(3) Rymer, *sub ann.*

(4) Rushworth, i., pt. iii., 33.—The exactions of coat and conduct-money, and the taking away the arms of trained bands of divers counties, formed two items in "The Remonstrance of the Commons" to the King, Dec., 1641.

The foot soldiers were to receive 8d. a day, which was to be defrayed by the counties, so long as the men were exercised there. They were to enter upon the King's pay as soon as they left the county; and, having received their coat and conduct-money, and the arms of the county, they were to be delivered over to the King's officer by indenture.⁽¹⁾

It would appear that there were county arms only for the trained bands; and when greater demands were made for troops in the counties, these men had to purchase their arms from the Government magazine at the Government rate. In Nalson, p. 487, we read: "And are to deliver up the arms borrowed of the trained bands, when they shall march out of that county." On the disbanding of the army, the arms were to be returned and delivered again into store, and the money to be repaid the men,⁽²⁾ who were, however, to be put under stoppages of 2d. per diem to make good any losses or damages received to the arms.⁽³⁾ The cavalry received 2s. 6d. as daily pay, and were to return their horses, or to be mulct of £5 of their pay.

⁽¹⁾ Nalson, 378.

⁽²⁾ "H. M. doth recommend to Parlt^e the care of disbanding the horse, that the soldiers may be repaid the money which hath been taken from them for their arms, that so accordingly men may not disperse themselves, to the disturbance of the kingdom, and that the arms may be restored to the magazines, for the defence of the King and this kingdom." (*Lords' Journ.*, an. 1641, p. 343.)

⁽³⁾ "That the House of Coms. have considered of the orders made by the Lord-General concerning the soldiers, that there should be 2^d. per Diem abated out of every soldier's pay, to satisfy for the price of such arms as should be carelessly lost, or returned imperfect, which was to continue from April to the 2nd Feb., 1640, and to be defalked by the Treasurer of the Army." (*Ibid.*, p. 403.)

A proclamation was issued by the King, "forbidding all His Majesty's subjects belonging to the train'd bands or militia of this kingdom to rise, march, muster, or exercise, by vertue of any Order or Ordinance of one or both Houses of Parliament, without consent of His Majesty."

"Whereas, by a statute made in the 7th Ed. I.," &c.

A counter-declaration by the Lords and Commons was, of course, speedily set forth, declaring "that neither the statute of the 7th Ed. I., nor any other law of this kingdom, doth restrain or make void the Ordinance agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament," &c.⁽¹⁾

Another proclamation by his Majesty, "requiring the assistance of all his subjects on the north-side Trent, and within twenty miles southerd thereof, for suppressing of the rebels now marching against him," went on to state "that such of our s^d subjects as shall come unto Us at (either to our s^d town of Nottingham, or to any other place where We sh^d happen to encamp), armed and arrayed, with Horse, Pistols, Musketts, Pikes, Corslets, Horses for Dragoons, or other fitting arms and furniture, We shall take these into our pay (such of them excepted who shall be willing, as Voluntiers, to serve us in this our necessity without pay)," &c.⁽²⁾

At first the Royal cause seemed attended with every possible disadvantage; indeed, so desperate appeared the condition of affairs, "that the King was privately advised of some, whom he trusted as much

(1) Rushworth, i., pt. iii., 551. (2) Appen., Grenville's *Hampden*.

as any," to abandon all thoughts of raising an army, and to proceed with all haste to London, and to appear in Parliament House before they had any expectation of him.⁽¹⁾ He was totally destitute of money, *proprio jure*, his only means being derived from the contributions of the nobility, gentry, clergy, and universities; whereas, on the other side, all the sea-ports, except Newcastle, being in the hands of Parliament, they were secure of a considerable revenue. They were also in possession of all the magazines of arms and ammunition, which they took care to seize at first; and as they had the command of the sea, their fleet intercepted the greatest part of the stores sent to the King from Holland, or made the landing of them a service of great risk and difficulty.⁽²⁾

Scarcity of
Arms.

In order to procure arms, Charles was obliged to borrow those of some of the train-bands, under promise of returning them as soon as peace should be restored. Arms were not easily procurable even in this way, nor was the security for their return very encouraging; and the counties whose property they were, either declined to deliver them, or had them removed to magazines of greater security, or were

⁽¹⁾ Clarendon, b. vi.

⁽²⁾ Clarendon gives a spirited description of the arrival of the small ship *Providence*, freighted with 200 barrels of powder, and 2,000 or 3,000 arms, with seven or eight field-pieces, which the Queen had dispatched from Holland. She was chased by the Parliament's cruisers, but being of light draught, she escaped by running into a narrow creek of the Humber, and landed her stores near Burlington, from whence they were safely dispatched to the King at York. (*Hist.*, b. v.)

using them at the time against the King. So miscellaneous was the arming, that we are told, in the dearth of ordinary implements of war, old bits of armour and ancient weapons were brought forth from their resting-places; and the long-bow, and brownbill, and cross-bow resumed their place among military equipments, and were put again on active service. It was not till some months after, when the stores of Hull, Newcastle, Plymouth, and the Tower of London were distributed, that the musqueteers and dragoons found weapons suitable for their designations; and, indeed, to the end of the civil wars many of the fighting men were furnished only with the rudest implements, and many thousands, particularly Welshmen, fought only with staves and Danish clubs.⁽¹⁾

Both armies were almost entirely composed of men (some of the officers excepted) who had never seen a battle-field; and in another respect they re-

Compositio
of the two
Armies.

(1) Among the stores sent to Sir W. Waller by Parliament were 1,000 clubs. (*Jour. Com.*, December 9, 1643.)—"The storekeepers had orders to deliver, for the use of Windsor Castle, 150 of the Danish clubs." Club-men, or club-risers, was a name assumed by a party in the provinces, whose arms were clubs or farming implements. They were banded together for the ostensible object of the protection of life and property, irrespective of King and Parliament. On their banner they had this rough couplet for their motto:—

"If you take our cattle,
We will give you battle."

The Parliament, in some instances, had furnished their friends with clubs, but the club-men often seemed to have turned against them. Fairfax encountered a host of them on his march into the west; and Cromwell was at last compelled to take summary means for putting them down. (See Letters from Fairfax in the *Journals of the Lords* vii. 184.)

sembled each other: commissions had been given, not to persons most fit to command, but to those who were most willing and able to raise men; and the men, on both sides, considered their services as voluntary, and felt their own importance; so that it was a dangerous matter to attempt to coerce them by strict discipline, lest they should carry their services to the opposite side. In other respects there was a wide difference. To make use of the language of Lord Macaulay, "The Parliamentary ranks were filled with hirelings, whom want and idleness had induced to enlist. Hampden's regiment was regarded as one of the best; and even Hampden's regiment was described by Cromwell as a mere rabble of tapsters and serving-men out of place. The Royal army, on the other hand, consisted in great part of gentlemen, high-spirited, ardent, accustomed to consider dishonour as more terrible than death—accustomed to the use of fire-arms, to bold riding, and to manly and perilous sport, which has been well called the image of war. Such gentlemen, mounted on their favourite horses, and commanding little bands, composed of their younger brothers, grooms, gamekeepers, and huntsmen, were, from the very first day on which they took the field, qualified to play their part in a skirmish. The steadiness, the prompt obedience, the mechanical precision of movement, which are characteristic of the regular soldier, these gallant volunteers never attained. But they were at first opposed to enemies as undisciplined as themselves, and far less active, athletic, and daring. For a time,

therefore, the Cavaliers were successful in almost every encounter." (1)

As popularity had now become an important element, the King forbore to make use of impressment. It would have been attended with very little success if he had, and its legality was very questionable after his assent to the Petition of Right. His endeavour to turn the train-bands to account had signally failed, the appointment of the lord-lieutenants, who had the ordering of that force, had most of them fallen into the hands of Parliament, and so the King designed to resort to the ancient process of the array of the militia; but this proved abortive, and so, of those who ranged themselves under the Royal banners, if not belonging to the nobility, gentry, or their dependents, were men who had enlisted themselves under the proclamation of the 29th of August, 1642, referred to on page 442.

Again, there were in the King's army many who secretly disapproved of the war, but who were deterred, for special reasons, from abandoning the Royal colours. Such was Sir Edward Varney, the standard-bearer, who told Hyde that he followed the King because honour obliged him, but the object of the war was against his conscience, for he had no reverence for the bishops, whose quarrel it was; (2) and Lord Spencer, who wrote to his wife, "If there could be an expedient found to salve the punctilio of honour, I would not continue here an hour." (3)

(1) *Hist. of England*, i., ch. i., 113.

(2) *Clarendon's Life*, 69.

(3) *Sydney Papers*, ii. 667.

There was also a class (and it was a numerous one) of bullying, reckless adventurers—soldiers of fortune, whom the campaigns of the Palatinate and the wars of the Low Countries and of Gustavus Adolphus had generated. These men returning home, found ready employment in the King's service. Their presence and example gave a flippant sort of devil-me-care tone to the army, and their vices brought disgrace on the name of Cavalier.⁽¹⁾ (See *The Army Lists of the Roundheads and Cavaliers, containing the Names of the Officers in the Royal and Parliamentary Armies of 1642*, edit. by Edward Peacock, F.S.A.)

Royalist
Cavalry.

It is easy to infer that the cavalry was likely to be the most efficient portion of the Royal army. Organised under the auspices of the energetic Rupert, it became—what cavalry ought always to be—"the eye of the general." Ever on the alert, now rushing here and surprising the enemy, reconnoitring or bringing in supplies, sweeping all before it in the solid charge, the *prestige* of the Prince's name carried dismay, and wherever the Cavalier trumpets sounded,

⁽¹⁾ This epithet (like that of Roundhead*) was first bestowed as a reproach, a little before the King left Whitehall (Clar., *Hist. Rebel.*), as though it were un-English to support a French queen's cause. The King alludes to it in his reply to the Parliament remonstrance concerning Sir Thos. Fairfax's petition: "for the courage and behaviour of the Cavaliers (a word by what mistake soever, it seems in much disfavour here) there hath not been the least complaint." (*Ibid.*) And in his address to the army before the battle of Keinton: "You are called Cavaliers in a reproachful signification; but let them know that the valour of Cavaliers hath honoured that name, both in France and in other countries." (Somers' *Tracts*, iv. 478.)

* "From this custom of wearing their haire cut close round their heads, that name of Roundhead became the scornfull terme given to the whole Parliament party." (*Life of Col. Hutchinson*, 99.)

the advance was generally successful. But an important element was wanting—steadiness; and it is easy to believe in its absence in a force constituted as this was. These bold horsemen were unaccustomed to discipline; the mettle that spurred them into action ran away with them afterwards. The same fault existed from the commander to the trooper, and the cavalry was at once the most fatal to the King as to his enemies. Had the cavalry been kept in hand, the fields of Edgehill and Naseby might have been won for the King. Clarendon says “that this difference was observed all along in the discipline of the King’s troops; that though they prevailed in the charge, and routed those they charged, they seldom rallied themselves again in order, nor could be brought to make a second charge again the same day; which was the reason they had not an entire victory at Edgehill: whereas the troops under Fairfax and Cromwell, if they prevailed, or though they were beaten and routed, presently rallied again, and stood in good order, till they received further directions.”

The Royal cavalry did not always sustain its character for gallantry. “At Alresford, in 1644,” writes the same historian, “the King’s horse never behaved themselves so ill as that day. For the main body of them, after they had sustained one fierce charge, wheeled about to an unreasonable distance, and left their principal officers to shift for themselves. The foot behaved themselves very gallantly, and had not only the better of the other foot, but bore two or three charges; the horse with notable courage,

and without being broken ; whilst those horse, which stood upon the field, and should have assisted them, could be persuaded but to stand."

Prince Rupert commenced his command with 800 ill-equipped horse ; but in another month he paraded at Shrewsbury about 2,000 troopers ;⁽¹⁾ and in a year's time we hear of him at the head of "a glorious body" of cavalry, "at least 6,000 strong."⁽²⁾

Foremost among this division was the troop of Life Guards, commanded by Lord Bernard Stuart,⁽³⁾ and composed of noble and wealthy Cavaliers, who had no separate command. This was the show-troop of the army, and was very superior in their equipment to the rest of the cavalry. Lord Clarendon estimates the amount of income possessed by this single troop as equal, "upon my modest computation," to that of all the Lords and Commons (in London) who made and maintained the war. Sir Philip Warwick,⁽⁴⁾ who tells us he himself "rode therein," computes this income at £100,000 per annum—equal to at least three times that according to our present standard. Their servants, under the command of Sir William Killigrew, made another full troop, and always marched with their lords and masters.⁽⁵⁾ The ordinary troops of cavalry were composed, for the most part, of yeomen able to bring their own horses into the field, or were raised by the country gentle-

(1) *Clar., Rebell.*, ii., b. vi., 372.

(2) *Ibid.*, iii., b. vii., p. 130.

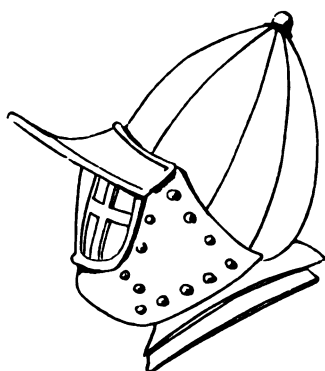
(3) Afterwards created Earl of Lichfield.

(4) *Memoires*, p. 47.

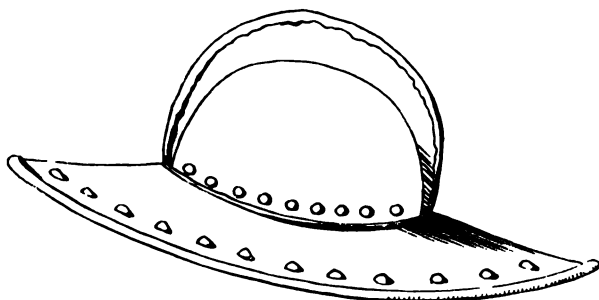
(5) *Clarendon, Hist.*, ii., b. vi., p. 374.

No. 38.

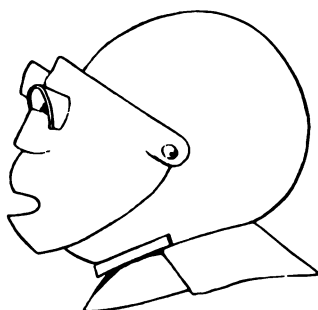
1.



2.



3.



1. ^A₁₁₃₉ Incomplete Falling-beaver Helmet. The visor opens on a hinge on the forehead. The beaver is wanting. (Official Tower Catalogue.)
2. Pot Helmet of pikeman. *Cir.* A.D. 1620.
3. ^A₁₁₃₆ Helmet with two-part visor and semi-circular apertures for vision. About 1600.

men,⁽¹⁾ and were armed at first anyhow—perhaps from the armouries that decorated the ancestral halls. “Among the horse,” writes Clarendon, “the officers had their full desire if they were able to procure old backs, and breasts, and pots (iron skull-caps), with pistols or carabines, for their two or three first ranks, and swords for the rest; themselves (and some soldiers by their example) having gotten, besides their pistols and swords, a short pole-axe.”⁽²⁾

PLATE XXXVIII.—A pot helmet of pikemen, *cir.* 1620. Also a curious type of the helmet of about A.D. 1580. The visor opens from a hinge on the forehead. Tower $\frac{4}{1139}$. Likewise a helmet with a two-part visor, and semi-circular apertures for the vision, about A.D. 1600. Tower $\frac{4}{1136}$.

In this reign mention is made, for the first time Dragoons. in England, of that useful description of troops termed Dragoons. They were commanded by Sir Arthur Aston. They seem to have been very weak in numbers. Of this the King complains in a private letter to the Earl of Newcastle, dated Oxford, December 15th, 1642:—

(¹) Lacy the player, who served his master during the Civil War, brought out after the Restoration a piece called “The Old Troop,” in which he seems to have commemorated some real incidents which occurred in his military career. He informs us how the cavalry raised by the country gentlemen for Charles’ service were usually officered: “The honest country gentleman raises the troop at his own charge; then he gets a Low-Country lieutenant (*one who had served in the Low Countries*) to fight his troop safely; then he sends for his son from school to be his cornet; and then he puts off his child’s coat to put on a buff coat: and this is the constitution of our army.” (Note to Scott’s *Rokeby*, can. iv., p. 74.)

(²) *Hist.*, iii., b. vi., p. 267.

"My next greatest want is dragooners, which I want the more because it is the Rebelles (indeed, only) strength, theire foot having no inclination to winter marches." ⁽¹⁾

Regiments
Designated.

Another custom was introduced in this reign that has survived to our day, that of designating regiments by distinctive appellations. We hear of the King's Life Guards (foot, dressed in red—*Fairfax Corres. Civil War*, ii. 421), composed of Derbyshire miners, ⁽²⁾ and Royal Horse Guards (see Forster's *Oliver Cromwell*, vi. 209), and the Prince of Wales' Regiment of Horse (Bulstrode, 78), and the Queen's Regiment, and others; or they were distinguished by the names of their colonels. The Parliamentary regiments were, for the most part, dressed according to the livery of their colonels, and were designated according as these colours might be—as Sir William Constable's "blue coats," Lord Robarts' "red coats," Colonel Meyrick's "grey coats," Lord Saye's "blue coats," &c. Colours of coats were various on both sides; and we find Colonel Legge taken prisoner by mistaking Hampden's "green coats" for those of Lord Northampton (Nugent, 268). Essex's body-guard was composed chiefly of young lawyers (Ludlow's *Mems.*, i. 42), from which we may learn that the admirable spirit evinced by the members of the Inns of Court in modern times

(1) Ellis's *Orig. Letters*, 1 S., iii., l. cccxvii., p. 294.

(2) The King addressed a letter to Thomas Bushell, Esq., Warden of the Mint, for his service "in raising us the Darbyshire Minors for our life Guard at our first entrance to this warr, when the Lord Lieutenant of that countie refused to appear in the service." (*Ibid.*, 2 S., vol. iii., p. 310.)

is only a revival of the military ardour which influenced them at an earlier period. Lord Campbell states, in his *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. ii., 604, that a commission was granted to Lord-Keeper Littleton to raise a corps of volunteers for the Royal service among the members of the legal profession.

The Royalist infantry, at the commencement of the war, was divided into three brigades; their equipment, at first, was very incomplete, being indebted for their arms to the contributions of private armouries. Some three or four thousand of them marched without any weapon beyond a good stout cudgel.⁽¹⁾ Bulstrode (p. 86), says that hundreds of Welshmen were in this predicament. Many of them carried pitchforks or such-like tools, and many had only cudgels; yet they came into action as boldly as those who were best equipped. In the whole division there was not a pikeman who had a corslet, and very few musqueteers who had swords. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, we find them, in two months after the raising of the standard, making a very good fight at Edgehill. The number of the King's infantry there, according to the Parliamentary report, which was probably an exaggerated one, amounted to 12,000.⁽²⁾ They were opposed to superior forces. The battle was a drawn one; but the King ought to have reaped a victory, had it not been for the misbehaviour of Rupert and the cavalry, who, after gallantly routing the enemy's cavalry, pursued them to a distance, and then allowed his troopers to pillage, instead of quickly

Royalist
Infantry.

(1) Clarendon, *Hist.*, b. vi.

(2) May, *Hist. Long Parl.*, ii. 66.

returning to the field and finishing the work that was still on hand.

Royalist
Artillery.

There was a small force of artillery attached to the Royal army, and its performances were as inconsiderable as its numbers. The King's "train of artillery was but mean," says Clarendon, "and his provision of ammunition much meaner."⁽¹⁾ The fact of private houses being able to hold out, and, in some cases, to repel attacks, for weeks and for months during a regular state of siege, does not give us an elevated opinion of the progress made in artillery at that date, or of the advancement of the service of field engineering. Bydolphe House, besieged by the Parliament's forces, held out for a month, and was taken at last by assault.⁽²⁾ The defence of Lathom House, which withstood a siege from the 28th of February to the 25th of March, under the intrepid Charlotte de la Tremouille, Countess of Derby—worthy descendant of the renowned William of Nassau—until relieved by Prince Rupert, was one of the most gallant exploits of the war. The house was defended by eight or nine small pieces of ordnance, and by a garrison of 306 officers and men; while the besieging force varied from two to three thousand men, and was provided with a considerable train of artillery.⁽³⁾ Basing House withstood the

⁽¹⁾ *Hist.*, iii. 251.

⁽²⁾ See an "intercepted letter from Sir Thos. Fairfax to the Earle of Essex," copied in Warburton's *Prince Rupert*, &c., ii. 380.

⁽³⁾ There is an interesting journal of the siege of Lathom House, by Captain Edward Halsall, in the Ashmolean Library (A. Wood, MSS., D. 16). It is also printed in Mrs. Hutchinson's *Mem. of Col. Hutchinson*. (Bohn's edit., 1846.)

No 39.



Helmet of Lord Brooke, worn when he was shot by Dumb Dyot, from the Cathedral at the siege of Lichfield. (Warwick Castle.)

The piece at the side is the visor-prop, full size : its use being to keep up the visor at different angles, according to the notch used.

No. 40.



The Breast and Back of Lord Brooke, who was shot at Lichfield.
(Warwick Castle.)

attacks of besiegers on and off for two years, and was only reduced at last by the vigorous measures of Cromwell.⁽¹⁾

The helmet of Lord Brooke, worn when he was shot by "Dumb Dyot" from the Cathedral, is preserved in Warwick Castle, and is represented on Plate XXXIX. The piece at the side is the visor-prop, full size; its use being to keep up the visor at different angles, according to the notch used. The breast and back of the same nobleman are likewise in the same collection. (See Plate XL.)

A striking instance of the poverty of the King's resources at starting is copied from MSS. in Warburton's *Memoir of Prince Rupert* (Note, vol. i.,

(1) Churches being generally strong places, were often garrisoned and attacked by either party. "Skippon, with about 1,000 foot, a party of horse, and few pieces of artillery, marched from Newport-Pannel, December 21, 1643, to Grafton Regis, where the King's forces had a strong garrison in an house of the Lady Craines, *and the Church*; and after three days' siege, Sir John Digby, the Governor, desired a parley and agreed to surrender. The prisoners taken were Sir John Digby; Major Brookland, who, having deserted from the Parliament service, was shot; Captain Clark; Captain Longfield; Captain Butler; 80 troopers; 100 foot; three ministers; and several gentlemen, that came as voluntiers." (Rushworth, vol. ii., pt. iii., p. 196.)

Lichfield Cathedral had been garrisoned by the Royalists, and was stormed by the Parliamentarians. Lord Brook, who with Sir John Gill commanded the assailants, was shot with a musket-ball through the visor of his helmet. The Royalists remarked that he was killed by a shot fired from St. Chad's Cathedral and upon St. Chad's Day, and received his death-wound in the very eye with which he had said he hoped to see the ruin of all the cathedrals in England. The magnificent edifice in question suffered terribly upon this and other occasions; the principal spire being ruined by the fire of the besiegers—

" — fanatic Brook
The fair Cathedral storm'd and took."
Marmion, can. vi. 36.

p. 110).⁽¹⁾ The Prince had scarcely arrived at Nottingham, when "Lord Digby, the governor, came to him, saying he had received a despatch from the King (who was then before Coventry), asking for two petards.⁽²⁾ Rupert hastily proceeded to examine the arsenal (as it was called by courtesy), but no petard was to be found. At length, Colonel Legge got two apothecaries' mortars, which they adapted to that purpose, and sent off post to the King."

The following extract from a Puritan pamphlet⁽³⁾ gives us an idea of the precision of the practice of the Royal Artillery of that time:—

"We (the Parliamentarians) have fortified Northwich (in Cheshire) with trenches, sconces, &c., for the securitie of all those parts which have been much infested by the Commission of Array, and the E. of Derby's⁽⁴⁾ forces at Warrington; and we have often sallied out for the clearing of those parts which were most in danger. One place above others hath been extremely assaulted; Mr. Brooke of Norton, a neere neighbour to the E. Rivers, against which they brought their cannon, with many horse and foot, and fell to batter it on a Sabbath-day. Mr. Brooke hath 80 men in the house; we were careful he should lack no powder; with all other things, Master Brooke

⁽¹⁾ Most of the original letters from which this work and the *Fairfax Correspondence* were compiled, were purchased for the British Museum, and are now bound up in chronological order in the Add. MS., 18,979 to 28,982.

⁽²⁾ Machines for bursting open gates, &c.

⁽³⁾ *Cheshire's Successes*, London, March 25, 1642, reprinted in Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, vol. i., p. 37.

⁽⁴⁾ "That grand and gracelesse patron of Papists." (Vicars, *Parliamentary Chronicles*, part i., p. 297.)

furnished them fully. A man upon his tower, with a flag in his hand, cryede them aime whilst they discharged their cannon, saying, 'Wide, my lord, on the right hand; now wide two yards on the left; two yards over, my lord,' &c. He made them swell for anger when they could not endanger the house, for they only wounded one man, lost forty-six of their owne, and their canonier," &c.

On the other side, we hear of a foreigner directing the engineering department.⁽¹⁾

On the 9th of September, 1642, the Earl of Essex, the popular commander of the Parliament's army, left London to enter upon his command. On his arrival at Northampton, he found his forces amount to about 14,000 men.⁽²⁾ The military arrangements were presided over by a committee of private safety; ⁽³⁾ the total of the Parliamentary force throughout England was computed at 25,000 men. Some of these regiments were also badly off for arms. The train-bands of London, who formed a very considerable portion of this army, were, of course, properly armed; and other regiments were provided from the stores of Hull, which had been removed to London. Besides the train-bands, the army was composed of men who had readily enlisted, this being the popular side; inso-

Essex takes
command.

(1) "Their valiant and faithfull *Germane* engineer" (Col. John Roseworm). *Ibid.*—Also, *Exceeding Joyfull News out of Lancashire, &c., being a True Relation of the Parliament Forces taking the Townes of Warrington and Whitechurch, &c., Lond., 1641.* Reprinted in Ormerod's *Civil War Tracts*.

(2) May, iii. 5.

(3) Lord Nugent's *Hampden*, part viii.

much that we are told that 5,000 enlisted in one day. The pay of the Commons was also like their notions—liberal. ⁽¹⁾

But, notwithstanding the resources which were at the command of the Parliament, money became before long very scarce. Lord Fairfax, who had been appointed to the command of the forces in the North, wrote to "the Committee of Lords and Commons for the safety of the Kingdom," ⁽²⁾ "I have not above a week's pay provided beforehand, and no visible maintenance for them (*the soldiers*), unless I give them free quarters upon the country—a cure, in my conception, as dangerous as the disease." Some Scotch officers had come and offered their services; but he goes on to say, "We are now straitened, that we can have no men resort to us to put under command, nor have we money to pay them."

The train-bands of London consisted principally of apprentices, whose masters had been compelled by ordinance of Parliament to reckon their military service as a portion of their apprenticeship. ⁽³⁾ These young soldiers fought very gallantly, "whose experience of danger, or any kind of service, beyond the easy practice of their postures in the Artillery Garden, men had till then too cheap an estimation." ⁽⁴⁾ At the battle of Newbury, "they behaved themselves to

⁽¹⁾ The lord general received £10, the general of the horse (the Earl of Bedford) £6, per diem.

⁽²⁾ *Fairfax Corres. Civil War*, i. 28.

⁽³⁾ "That all apprentices who will list in their army, shall have their time of that service in for their freedom." (Whitelock, 64.)

⁽⁴⁾ Clarendon, *Hist.*, iv. 236.

wonder." Rupert, in his desperate charges, "could make no impression on their stand of pikes, but was forced to wheel about." (1) The Red Regiment of the City had been surprised by the King at Brentford, in November, 1642, when he threatened to hang the soldiers if they did not join his army. "A smithe was brought to burne them on the cheekes with hot irons," whereupon 200 declared for the Royal service, and "140 tendered their persons to be stigmatised rather than yield;" they were, however, released unhurt. (2)

Neither side had much generalship to boast of. The Royalist army was the best officered of the two, but jealousies among the leaders terribly impaired the efficiency of the King's service. The fiery Rupert maintained his privilege of receiving no orders save from the King himself, and this led to occasional embarrassments. (3) Nor was Charles blameless. He allowed the judgment of his commander-in-chief to be overruled by his nephew. Lord Lindsey, "a man of great honour, who had spent his youth and vigour of his age in military actions and commands abroad," (4) and who, at the commencement of the war, had raised a regiment of 600 men, felt so aggrieved by the want of deference shown by the King to his opinion, that he respectfully declined to form the order of battle at Edgehill, Rupert's plan of action having been selected in opposition to his. He told his friends that he did not look upon himself as the general, but that he

King's
Generals.

(1) Clarendon, vii. 24.

(2) Ellis's *Letters*, 1st S., iii. 294.

(3) Clarendon, *Hist.*, iii., b. vi., p. 270.

(4) *Ibid.*—Bulstrode, 79.

would fight as a colonel at the head of his regiment of Lincolnshire men, and there he would die. And so it was; he fell mortally wounded, having his thigh broken by a musket-ball, and his son, Lord Willoughby, refusing to leave his father, was taken prisoner by his side. ⁽¹⁾

Lord Ruthven, afterwards Earl of Brentford, who had been made field-marshal by the King at Coventry, was promoted from adjutant of the horse to the chief command of the army. He was a Scotchman, a brave man, a thorough soldier, and a staunch Royalist, ⁽²⁾ and little else.

Prince Rupert cannot be classed as a great general, his qualities being rather those of a dashing leader, and an enterprising partisan. ⁽³⁾ He was only twenty-three at the time of his taking service in the King's army. He was brave to temerity, but rash and headstrong, with all the plundering propensities of a mere soldier of fortune. He possessed a precipitate valour, rather than a moral courage. He seldom engaged but he gained the advantage, which he generally lost by

⁽¹⁾ The characteristic battle-prayer of that gallant soldier, Sir Jacob Astley (subsequently created Lord Astley), uttered just before the charge at Edgehill, should not be forgotten. Sir Philip Warwick records it, and says: "Sir Jacob Astley made a most excellent, pious, short, and soldierly prayer, &c., 'O Lord, thou knowest how busy I must be this day; if I forget thee, do not thou forget me!' and with that rose up and said, 'March on, boys!'"—This will remind us of the laconic prayer of the French knight *La Hire*, at the siege of Montargis, "Dieu, je te prie que tu fasses aujourd'hui pour La Hire autant que tu voudrais que La Hire fist pour toi, s'il etait Dieu, et tu fusses La Hire." (Saint Foix, *Essais Hist.*)

⁽²⁾ Sir P. Warwick, p. 229.

⁽³⁾ Macaulay, *Hist. of England*, i., ch. i., p. 114.

pursuing it too far. He surrendered Bristol to Sir Thomas Fairfax almost as soon as he appeared before it; upon which the King deprived him of all his commissions. Prince Maurice was a year younger than his brother, and was not of so active and fierce a nature, but knew better how to follow up any advantages gained over the enemy. He wanted a little of his brother's fire, and Rupert a great deal of his coolness. He laid siege to several places in the west, and took Exeter and Dartmouth. His most signal exploit was the victory at Lansdown.

Without proceeding to enumerate those on the Royalist side who displayed a capacity to command, it may be stated that some of the best manœuvres that were executed during the war, were devised by the King himself. ⁽¹⁾

It appears that two *corps d'armées*—one under the command of Essex, amounting to 12,000 foot and 3,000 horse, and the other under Waller, with 7,000 foot and 1,500 horse—were marching so as to surround and besiege Oxford, where the King lay with an army of 8,500 foot and 4,000 horse. The King soon discovered the design of his enemies, and when Lord Hopton had been defeated by Waller, near Winchester, March 29, 1644, the King withdrew the garrison of 2,500 men from Reading, in order to concentrate his forces at Oxford.

On the 26th of May, Essex entered Abingdon; and on the 28th, crossed the river at Sandford Ferry, and so passing through Littlemore and the Cowleys,

(1) *Vide* Forster's *Oliver Cromwell*, iv. 128.

reached Bullingdon Green, Islip, and Bletchingdon May 29th; on the evening of which day he made his first attempt to seize the pass of Gosford Bridge near Kidlington.⁽¹⁾

It is told by Anthony Wood, that Essex drew up his army on Bullingdon Green, "whilst the carriages slipped away behind them;" and that the King beheld this hostile array from the top of Magdalen Tower.⁽²⁾ It was obviously of the greatest importance to Essex to lose no time in seizing the passes over the Cherwell, in order to connect himself with Waller, who was making what haste he could on the Berkshire side of the Isis to join Essex.

Having failed in his attempt to cross the Cherwell on the 29th, it was repeated on the 31st; but Sir Jacob Astley, having raised a redoubt and breastworks, again succeeded in repelling the attack, as he did a third time, June 1. Neither was this the whole of Astley's success, for upon Essex's trying to cross the river higher up, at Enslow Bridge and Tackley Ford, he was again repulsed.

The King's best chance of extricating himself was to fight with one of these armies in the absence of the other, but this he could not accomplish. It was his earnest wish from the time that he fell back upon Oxford to have held Abingdon, and he was highly displeased with Lord Wilmot for having, contrary to orders and without fighting, evacuated

⁽¹⁾ Rushworth, vol. v., p. 653.—Whitelocke, p. 85.—Clarendon, iv., p. 725.

⁽²⁾ *Annals*, ii. 472.

it on Essex's approach; and when that general had separated himself from Waller by crossing Sandford Ferry, he attempted to recover it: but though unsuccessful in this,⁽¹⁾ the King was able, by marching some dragoons and musqueteers from Charlbury, to defeat Waller's repeated attempts to cross the Isis at Newbridge. The bridge here was probably a weak and narrow wooden one, for when at last Waller succeeded in crossing, June 2nd, Rushworth informs us that he crossed over in boats called punts.⁽²⁾ But, before he advanced, he took care to repair the bridge sufficiently to allow troops to pass over it; a precaution which some of the King's subsequent movements upon Abingdon proved to be very necessary; for to prevent Waller from effecting a speedy junction with Essex, the King made a feint of drawing out his forces in order to attack Abingdon, thereby causing Waller to fall back towards Newbridge.

On the 2nd of June, the King finally abandoned the pass at Newbridge; and, on the same day, sent orders to Sir Jacob Astley to withdraw his troops from the passes over the Cherwell, which he had hitherto so victoriously maintained at Gosford Bridge, Enslow Bridge, and Tackley Ford.

But these manœuvres of the King were now The Crisis. drawing fast to a close—the crisis was at hand. His position appeared so desperate, that Clarendon says, "It was generally reported in London that Oxford was taken, and the King a prisoner." The Parliament was afraid of the King's putting himself

(1) *Mercurius Aulicus*, May, 1644.

(2) Vol. v., p. 670.

under the protection of Essex, of whose leaning to monarchy it was jealous. The King's remark when he heard this well accorded with his known fortitude: "That possibly he might be found in the hands of the Earl of Essex, but he would be dead first." ⁽¹⁾

Notwithstanding the fearful aspect of affairs, the King, by a happy union of great courage and good counsel, extricated himself from the peril which encompassed him. Charles, in this extremity, had no other forces to rely on than those that were with him. Prince Rupert was moving into Lancashire to help the Earl of Derby at Lathom House, and Prince Maurice was uselessly expending his strength before Lyme, in Dorsetshire.

The particulars of this perilous enterprise have been given in a work entitled *Historical Discourses*, with this special notice on its title-page: "The happy progress and success of the arms of his Majesty, from March 30th to November 23rd, 1644, written by his Majesty's special command, and corrected almost in every page with his own hand, by Sir Edward Walker, Knight, Clerk of the Council to King Charles."

Lord Clarendon, who collected his account of the King's retreat from the information of Sir Edward Walker, merely says, "that he marched out of the North Port of Oxford, attended by his own troop, to the place where the Horse and *commanded* (*i.e.*, selected) Foot waited to receive them, and from

⁽¹⁾ Clarendon, iv. 730.—Also Disraeli's *Commentaries on the Life of Charles I.*, vol. i., p. 75.

thence, without any halt, marched between the two armies, and by day-break was at Hanborough, some miles beyond all their quarters; but the King rested not till the afternoon, when he found himself at Burford, and then concluded that he was in no danger to be overtaken by any army that was to follow with baggage and a train of artillery." (1)

On the Parliament's side, the Earl of Essex, Parliament's
Generals. although a brave and experienced soldier, had no qualifications for a high command. Dilatoriness and indecision were the over-mastering faults in his character. Had he exerted himself at first he might have put an end to the war, or rather there might have been no war at all. (2) So ill-provided was the King at first starting, and so imminent was his danger, that Sir Jacob Astley, the sergeant-major general, informed him "that he could not give any assurance against his Majesty's being taken out of his bed, if the rebels should make a brisk attempt to that purpose." (3)

Sir Thomas Fairfax, who succeeded Essex in the chief command, was perhaps the best officer on that side. Among those who were not soldiers by profession, but whose principles impelled to take up arms, Hampden shone conspicuously; but, doubtless, the

(1) Vol. iv., p. 731.—See *Account of the Night-March of King Charles the First from Oxford, by Wolvercot, Yarnton, Hanborough Bridge to Burford and Worcester.* By Vaughan Thomas, B.D. 1850.

(2) Clarendon, *Rebell.* iii., b. vi.

Ibid., p. 320.

only master-mind which the circumstances of the times brought forth, was Oliver Cromwell. From the outbreak of the war, when he—being member for Cambridge—raised and commanded a troop of horse, there soon became manifest that fixedness of purpose, that energy and forethought combined with practical brains and iron nerves, which heralded his future greatness. Cromwell at once saw the errors of the existing system, and he set at work to rectify them. The technical rules of war are easy to be learnt, but the application of them requires more than mere learning. He possessed in an eminent degree that useful gift, the knowledge of character. He cultivated the enthusiasm of the young soldiers, and he conquered.⁽¹⁾ “Your troops,” said he, according to his own account of himself, in conversation with John Hampden, “are most of them old, decayed serving-men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and the King’s troops are gentlemen’s sons, younger sons, and persons of quality. Do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will be ever able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour and courage and resolution in them? You must get men of spirit—of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go, or else I am sure you will be beaten still. I told him I could do something in it. I did so, and I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, and made some conscience of what they did; and from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten, and wherever

(1) Lord Nugent’s *Mem. of John Hampden*, part viii.

they were engaged against the enemy they beat continually." (1)

It was on such principles as these that he formed The Ironsides that immortal phalanx of *Ironsides*, of which it was no vain boast of the commander that it was never known to yield or be beaten in battle. "We never charged but we routed the enemy," writes Cromwell after the victory of Marston Moor. (2)

The plan on which he proceeded to raise these invincibles, was to secure a better class of men, "most of them freeholders and freeholders' sons," writes Whitelock, "and who upon matter of conscience engaged in their quarrel." He selected also none but religious men, whose hearts he sought to engage in the cause for which they fought, so that instead of a band of sordid mercenaries, each one regarded himself as a missionary going forth on a holy errand. "Truly, I think," wrote Cromwell, "that he who prays and preaches best, will fight the best." (3)

Upon the first muster of his men, Cromwell is said to have tried the metal of the recruits by

(1) This conversation will be found reported in a cotemporary pamphlet, entitled *Monarchy asserted to be the Best Form of Government, in a Conference at Whitehall between Oliver Cromwell and a Committee of Parliament.* (London, 1660, 8°, p. 38.)

(2) Forster's *Oliver Cromwell*, vol. vi., p. 139.—It was at Marston Moor that this regiment obtained its title of "Ironsides." It appears they were armed with "head-pieces, back, and breastplates of iron." (Lilly's *Life and Times*, p. 177.)

(3) Ellis's *Letters*, 2 S., vol. iii., l. ccci.—"These men," says Baxter, "were of greater understanding than common soldiers, and therefore were more apprehensive of the importance and consequence of the wars; and making not money, but that which they took for the public felicity, to be their end, they were the more engaged to be valiant," &c.

a little stratagem. Having previously placed some resolute men, on whom he could rely, in an ambuscade near some of the King's garrisons, at the appointed time these concealed men came forth—their trumpets sounding a charge—and galloped furiously on their comrades. They, of course, believed that the enemy was upon them, and the faint-hearted immediately took to flight. So Cromwell was enabled to judge who were to be trusted, and declined any further attendance of those who deserted their colours.⁽¹⁾

But whether this was the method which he adopted or not, it is certain that he must have made a selection of men suited to his purpose, and these he prepared for conflict by a most careful training. "His men," says a political enemy of Cromwell, "who in the beginning were unskilful both in handling their arms and managing their horses, by diligence and industry became excellent soldiers: for Cromwell used them daily to look after, feed, and dress their horses; and, when it was needful, to lie together on the ground; and besides, taught them to clean and keep their arms bright, and have them ready for service; to chuse the best armourer, and to arm themselves to the best advantage. Trained up in this kind of military exercise, they excelled all their fellow-soldiers in feats of war, and obtained more victories over their enemies."⁽²⁾ They were all fanatics, or

⁽¹⁾ Heath's *Flagellum*, p. 31-33, quoted in Forster's *Oliver Cromwell*, iv. 89.

⁽²⁾ Bate's *Elenchi*, &c., part ii., p. 270, quoted in Forster's *British Statesmen*, iv. 89.

shortly became so, and Cromwell made use of their zeal and credulity. They became fearless of danger, and good pay and plunder "seemed to them a natural member of godliness."⁽¹⁾

On raising them, he spoke plainly, lest there should be any mistake. They were to understand that it was not for the King and Parliament they were to fight, but for the Parliament only: "therefore, if the King chanced to be in the body of the enemy, he would as soon discharge his pistol upon him as any private man; and if their consciences would not let them do the like, he advised them not to enlist themselves under him."⁽²⁾

Thus did the future ruler of England proceed to sow the seed of that army which, humanly speaking, could hardly fail of conquest; whose sobriety and intelligence was unequalled; and whose courage and devotion made it famous in repute, and terrible all over the world.

Very little armour was worn by the Royal troops, the buff-coat being found far more serviceable; most of the cavalry were protected only by back, breast, and pot.⁽³⁾ Among the Parliamentary troops armour

(¹) Sir P. Warwick, 252.

(²) *Mems. of the Protectorate House*, &c., by Mark Noble, vol. i., 271, edit. 1787.

(³) The King to Prince Rupert:—

"Charles R.

"Whereas there are sundry quantities of horsemen's arms, as backs and pots, remaining in our magazine here at Shrewsbury," &c.

"9th Oct., 1642."

(*Rupert Corres.*, Brit. Mus., before quoted.—It seems singular that "backs" only should be mentioned.)

was more prevalent. Ludlow tells of a wonderful escape which he had, because he got into a *mêlée* without his "suit of arms;" and that he was obliged to walk about all night at Edgehill to keep himself warm, having then nothing but his "suit of iron" to cover him.⁽¹⁾ "The Ironsides" derived this *soubriquet* from their armour, and that of "Haselrig's Lobsters"—"that impenetrable regiment," as Clarendon calls it—from their "bright iron shells."⁽²⁾ Most of the portraits of that day, which have come down to us, are in complete armour; but this appears to have been rather the garb of ceremony than the fighting dress of the time. The only piece of armour worn by Charles at the battle of Edgehill was a steel cap;⁽³⁾ otherwise, we might have applied to the occasion the beautiful lines of Lord Macaulay:—

"The King is come to marshal us, in all his armour drest,
And he has bound a snow-white plume upon his gallant crest;
He looked upon his people, and a tear was in his eye—
He looked upon the traitors, and his glance was stern and high.
Right graciously he smiled on us, as rolled, from wing to wing,
Down all our line, a deafening shout, 'God save our Lord the King!'"

An iron hat worn by Charles is preserved in

⁽¹⁾ *Memoirs of Genl. Edmund Ludlow*, edit. 4^o, Lond., 1771, p. 22.

⁽²⁾ "A regiment of five hundred horse, under the command of Sir Arthur Haselrig, which were so prodigiously armed, that they were called by the other side the regiment of lobsters, because of their bright iron shells with which they were covered, being perfect cuirassiers, and were the first seen so armed on either side, and the first that made any impression on the King's horse; who, being unarmed, were not able to bear a shock with them, besides that they were secure from hurts of the sword, which were almost the only weapons the other were furnished with." (Clarendon, *Hist.*, b. vii., 91, 118).

⁽³⁾ Bulstrode, p. 78.

No. 41.



↑
B O

Iron Hat, worn by Charles I., now preserved in Warwick Castle. The nasal or nose protection, seems to be resuscitated in this instance, as in some other of the Commonwealth specimens; the broad arrow on the rim was probably affixed when it was in the Government possession, at a late period.

Warwick Castle. It is represented on Plate XLI. The nasal seems to be resuscitated in the broad iron protector in front. The broad arrow, on the rim, was probably affixed when it was in the Government possession at a later period.

The headsman has done his work with the unfortunate Charles Stuart, and Oliver Cromwell is now Lord Protector of England. In 1657 a treaty of offensive alliance was signed between England and France, the express purpose of which was the reduction of Gravelines, Mardyke, and Dunkirk by the joint arms of the two countries. For this purpose an English army of 6,000 men was landed at Boulogne, to co-operate with the French army. The charges of half of the English force were to be borne by France, and the other half was to be defrayed by the Government of England. We see here an instance of the vigour that was instilled into the English administration. No Coventry regiments—no half-starved band of ill-paid ragamuffins, was dispatched abroad, but a force of veteran regiments—trained in the civil wars, and organised under the iron rule of Cromwell—supported the reputation of their country by their bearing and discipline, and were probably the finest troops of the age. We are told that they received new clothing for the occasion.⁽¹⁾ They were commanded by a good man, no favourite courtier, but an officer who had seen rough service in Ireland, Sir John Reynolds.⁽²⁾ Their appearance

Cromwell
Lord
Protector

⁽¹⁾ *Perfect Politician*, p. 232.

⁽²⁾ Appointed captain-general and commander-in-chief. (Thurloe, vi. 230.)

excited so much attention that Louis XIV. made a journey expressly to see them.⁽¹⁾

It must be borne in mind that, since the dispersion of the Spanish Armada, no deed of arms worthy of a great nation had been performed by the English. It may be negative praise to say that during the peaceful reign of James nothing was attempted; but under Charles we find recorded positive dishonour at home from the Scots, disgrace on the coast of France, and disasters in Spain. Cromwell raised the dignity of this nation abroad, and placed it once more, in a military point of view, high among the nations of Europe. His ambition was to render the name of an Englishman as great as ever that of a Roman had been.⁽²⁾ "The shadow of his name overawed the most confident and haughty," says a modern writer. "He intimidated Holland, he humiliated Spain, and he twisted the supple Mazarin, the ruler of France, about his fingers. All these nations had then attained the summit of their prosperity; all were unfriendly to the rising power of England; all trembled at the authority of that single man, who coerced at once her aristocracy, her priesthood, and her factions."⁽³⁾

(1) "Your forces already landed are cried up by all that have seen them for the bravest men that ever were in the French service. Their reputation is so great that the Court maketh a journey here expressly to see them. I have been earnest with the Cardinal (Mazarin) to retard the King's arrival here into such time the whole 6,000 are landed, and fitted for his Majesty's view." (Lockhart, Ambassador to France, *Ibid.*, p. 288.)

(2) Burnet's *Own Times*, i., b. i., p. 138.

(3) These are the expressions of Walter Savage Landor, quoted in Forster's *Oliver Cromwell*.

Under the Protectorate, those visions of liberty for which men had contended so obstinately were at once dissolved by the establishment of an unbroken military despotism. The army had raised Cromwell to power, and that army he was determined to maintain; and in defiance of Parliament, and in contempt of the people's complaints, he kept together to the end of his reign a force which at one time amounted to 80,000 men, which, we are told, was well and constantly paid.⁽¹⁾ And "thus," says Ludlow (iii. 21), "the troops of Parliament were corrupted by him, and kept as a standing force against the people." The good policy of paying well induced young men of education to enlist; and it was considered "a good employment for a gentleman, and a competent provision, to have near twenty shillings by the week, living well, and keeping themselves and their horses for some six shillings a week."⁽²⁾ A portion of them afterwards proved mainly instrumental in bringing back the son of that monarch whom they had put to death. Charles II., in all the popularity of the commencement of his reign, never ventured to retain a standing army of more than 5,000 men!

The system of the militia had naturally become confused during the civil war; but when the Scots invaded this country in the cause of the young Charles, a bill passed through all its stages in one day for reviving and renewing the expired Act concerning the militia.

But, not satisfied with these military resources,

Military
Districts.

(¹) Thurloe, *State Papers*, i. 395. (²) Gumble's *Life of Monck*, p. 34.

one of the politic measures emanating from the profound mind of the Lord Protector was to organise a second army, which should be powerful enough, in case of emergency, to aid the operations of the first or to control it if it fell off from implicit obedience to his will. This new measure was craftily introduced on fiscal pretexts. A large army and a formidable navy could not be maintained without great expense, and so it occurred to Cromwell to cast this expenditure on the Royalists, whose disaffection to the State, and blind support of a hopeless cause had been mainly instrumental in promoting this expenditure. So he divided England into twelve districts, and an officer, with the title of major-general, was appointed to the command of each.⁽¹⁾ The most arbitrary powers were entrusted to them. They had to collect the tenth penny (as it was styled) the tenth, that is, of the annual income of all who should be considered hostile to the Commonwealth and attached to the cause of the exiled Charles; and

Military
Despotism.

(¹) Kent and Surrey	Colonel Kelsey.
Sussex, Hampshire, and Berkshire...	Colonel Goffe.
Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall (being the whole Western quarter), Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Herts	General Disbrowe. ^(*)
Cambridgeshire, Isle of Ely, Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk	Lord-Deputy Fleetwood. ^(†)
London	Major-General Skippon.
Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Warwickshire, and Leicestershire	Commissary-General Whaley.

(*) Or Desborough, brother-in-law of Cromwell.

(†) Brother-in-law of Cromwell.

they could enforce the payment by seizing the persons and distraining the estates of all such as were refractory. Every master of a household who was considered disaffected, was required to give security for the behaviour of all his servants, who were liable to be called to appear before the major-general, or his deputy, at such time and place as either should appoint. A registry of all such persons was to be kept in London, and every change of residence was immediately to be communicated to the major-general of the district. Every person, whether foreigner or otherwise, who came from beyond sea, was required, within twenty-four hours after his landing, to appear before the officer whom the major-general should appoint, to deliver his name, and an account of the place whence he came, and to which he intended to go, &c. These were some of their most important duties. There were general matters of police of which they were directed to take special cognisance; and there were secret orders—a portion of which is preserved in Thurloe.

The military force at the disposal of the major-generals was the command of the militia of their

Northamptonshire, Beds, Rutland-shire, and Huntingdonshire ...	Major Boteler.
Herefordshire, Shropshire, and N. Wales	Colonel Berry.
Cheshire, Lancashire, and Staffordshire	Colonel Worsley.
Yorkshire, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland	The Lord Lambert.
Westminster and Middlesex	Colonel Barkstead, Governor of the Tower.
Monmouthshire and S. Wales ...	Admiral Dawkins.

districts, to be organised afresh, and kept distinct from the rest of the army of England, which was placed on permanent pay. From the correspondence in Thurloe, it appears that the intention was to make this a strong militia cavalry,⁽¹⁾ though not exclusively so; and the object may have been, although it is not so stated, to secure a more substantial class of men, who brought their own horses, rather than those who were liable only for foot service. The new soldiers confessed their weakness before the veterans of the Republic: they felt "as a new quickset hedge, that would for a while need an old hedge about it."⁽²⁾

A.D. 1657.

The whole measure was a very iniquitous imposition, and the decimation and restriction clauses in direct subversion of that act of oblivion, formerly procured by Cromwell himself, which pretended to abolish the memory of all past offences.⁽³⁾ There seemed a bitter malice in its conception, that the adherents or victims of a certain line of policy should maintain an army and navy which was to be directed against them.

Ludlow, one of the purest of Republicans, thus stigmatises the measure: "He (Cromwell) divided England into cantons, over each of which he placed a bashaw, under the title of major-general" (vol. ii. 519). General Monck, a traitor to the Royal cause, displayed no generosity on the occasion,

⁽¹⁾ Thurloe, iv. 156.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, Major-General Goffe to Secretary Thurloe, iv. 161.

⁽³⁾ Lingard, viii., ch. vi. (edit. 1849).

and highly approved of the scheme, or professed to do so.⁽¹⁾

Such a state of things was not likely to last long. A commonwealth administered by military despotism is an anomaly in politics. The desire of the country for a permanent head of government grew daily more intense. The Royalists would not choose Cromwell for king, nor would the Republicans submit to the arbitrary rule of one of themselves.⁽²⁾ The close of the Lord Protector's career was embittered by the miserable apprehension that the fabric which he had raised would be shattered in his own life-time. When the strong hand that had supported it was removed, the vast machine spontaneously collapsed. It owed its origin and its fall alike to military usurpation.

With much personal ambition, Cromwell was yet a sincere patriot; and although the people objected to be "*dragooned*" by the Lord Protector and his myrmidons," as Blackstone forcibly words it, "the country was certainly indebted to him for overthrowing a corrupt and tyrannical Government, with its Star Chamber and other enormities. He obtained for us religious liberty; and he confirmed a resolution of the House of Commons destroying the Court of

Character
Cromwell

(1) "I am glad your highness hath put your affairs in England into so good a posture, by framing such a militia, which (with the help of the army that is now on foot there) will be able, I hope, to keep the people from any insurrection, and to resist the common enemy."—*George Monck, from Edinburgh, to the Protector.* (Thurloe, iv. 162.)

(2) "*Cromwell*: 'What if a man should take upon himself to be king?' *Whitelocke*: 'I think that remedy would be worse than the disease.'" (Whitelocke, 471.)

Wards, and all tenures by homage and knight-service, with all the penalties of feudalism : which provisions, with additional clauses, were afterwards turned into a regular Act of Parliament after the Restoration.”⁽¹⁾

General Monk saw that his interest would be best consulted by the restoration of the monarchy. He was the chief actor in that final scene of the Great Rebellion. He reaped all the credit, and most of the honours, consequent upon Charles Stuart's accession to the throne of his ancestors, when the rejoicings of a nation, exuberant with long-suppressed loyalty, hailed the dawn of a day so darkly contrasting with the criminal glories of the Commonwealth.

⁽¹⁾ *Commen.*, b. ii., ch. xxiii.—See also *Journal Com.*, July, 1643, when a committee was appointed to prepare an ordinance to take away Court of Wards, &c. A bill was accordingly brought in a few months later; but the war going on, the remedy by this method being tedious, the two Houses, on the 24th of February, 1646, came to a resolution that the Court of Wards, &c., should that day be abolished.

No. 42.



Helmet, supposed to have belonged to Oliver Cromwell, and now in Warwick Castle.



Casque of King James II., with cheek-pieces and visor of perforated steel representing the Royal Arms, with scroll-work of thistles below. (Horse Armoury. Tower.)

CHAPTER XVIII.

BODY GUARDS THE ONLY ANCIENT STANDING FORCES—SERGEANTS-AT-ARMS—DERIVATION—FRENCH SERGEANTS—PRIVILEGES—CEREMONIAL AT INVESTITURE—ARCHER-GUARDS OF EDWARD III., RICHARD II., EDWARD IV.—YEOMEN OF THE GUARD—GENTLEMEN-AT-ARMS.

THE first and only standing forces employed by our kings until the Restoration were their personal body-guards. These, however,—although they accompanied the Sovereign when he took the command of the army in the field,—from their numerical strength, were more calculated to add dignity to the Crown, than to effect great operations in war.

The Sergeants-at-arms (*servientes armorum*) are the most ancient establishment of this nature; they were instituted by Richard I., and are said to have been raised for the purpose of watching around him in the Holy Land against the attacks of a Prince, corruptly known as “the Old Man of the Mountain,” whose infatuated disciples believed they were securing to themselves the entrance to Paradise by murdering all whom their chief devoted to destruction. These abominable sectaries were called Assassini,⁽¹⁾ a term said to have been derived from their using an intoxicating preparation of hemp, still known in

(1) “*Accini*” (i.e., *de Assassins*), according to Hoveden, fol. 716.

the East by the name of *Hashish*,⁽¹⁾ hence *Hashishin*, hemp-eaters. A branch of the Ismailites—not the descendants of Ishmael, but a sect existing in the bosom of Islamism, and so called from the Imam Ismail—they established themselves in the hill fortress of Alamoot, situated to the north of Casiri, in Persia. Its position, in the midst of a mountainous region, caused its master to receive the title of *Sheikh al Jabal*, i.e., Prince of the Mountains; and the double sense of the word Sheikh, meaning both prince and old man, has occasioned the historians of the Crusades to call him the “Old Man of the Mountain.” In the East and West, Christians and Moslems fell victims to the plunge of their fatal daggers, their only arm, till at length these enemies of mankind were crushed under the iron tramp of Hulakoo and the Mongol avengers, and the name only remains perpetuating their infamy by being adopted in its most odious sense, in the languages of Europe.⁽²⁾

The Syrian or Western branch of the Assassini, however, continued to exist for some years later. Massiat, not far from Beyrout, was their principal stronghold. Among other victims, Conrad, Lord of Tyre and Marquis of Montferrat, was murdered by two Assassins disguised as monks,⁽³⁾ in the market-place of Tyre in 1192. The motives for this murder

(1) “In India, hemp is cultivated as a luxury, and used solely as an excitant. Prepared hemp is called by the Arabs *hashish*.” (Burnet’s *Botany*, p. 560.)

(2) Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall*, lxiv.

(3) Abulfeda, *ad ann.* 588.

have been the subject of much controversy. Some writers have ascribed it to the instigation of King Richard I., and Von Hammer, after a careful review of the circumstances, does not absolve him.⁽¹⁾ A letter, purporting to be written by the "Old Man of the Mountain," acquitting the King of the murder, was addressed to Leopold, Duke of Austria, when he detained Richard a prisoner on pretext of reprisal for the murder. This letter is printed in Rymer, i. 23.⁽²⁾ The avowal would certainly be an act of generosity which we should not expect on the part of a remorseless sheikh. This letter, in all probability, was a forgery; it proves, however, nothing except an injudicious anxiety on the part of the English to obtain the release of their King.

A warrior like Cœur-de-Lion—who had acquired such ascendancy in the army of the Crusaders, where so many independent chieftains had assembled—must necessarily have aroused jealousy, but the best justification of Richard must be derived from the generosity of his character, whatever ferocity his valour may have possessed.⁽³⁾ Prince John had behaved most basely to him during his absence; on his return he threw himself at his brother's feet, and craved pardon

⁽¹⁾ *Geschichte der Assassinen.*

⁽²⁾ "To Leopold, Duke of Austria, the Old Man of the Mountain sends greeting:

"Seeing that many kings and princes, beyond sea, accuse the Lord Richard, King of England, of the death of the Marquis, I swear by the God who reigns for ever, and by the laws which we observe, that he had no share in his death. The cause of the Marquis's death was as follows," &c.

⁽³⁾ See Note B, p. 224, to *History of the Assassins*; translated by O. C. Wood, M.D.

for his offences, which, at the intercession of the Queen-mother Eleanor, was readily granted. "I forgive him," said the King, "and hope I shall as easily forget his injuries, as he will my pardon." And when mortally wounded at the siege of Chaluz by a cross-bowman, he not only pardoned him after the town was taken, but also before his death ordered him to have a hundred shillings given to him.

If Brunton the chronicler is to be believed, we may infer that neither the dying Marquis nor his widow believed that Richard was the instigator of the murder.⁽¹⁾ The King's countrymen attached no faith to the accusation. The captivity of a superior lord was one of the cases provided for by the feudal tenures, and all the vassals were bound to give an aid to his ransom. Twenty shillings was levied on each knight's fee in England, but as this did not produce sufficient for the purpose, the zeal of the people supplied the deficiency. Churches and monasteries melted down their plate; bishops, abbots, and nobles paid a fourth of their yearly rent; the parochial clergy contributed a tenth of their tythe: all this was purely voluntary. The requisite sum being thus collected, Queen Eleanor and the Archbishop of Rouen set out with it to Germany, paid the money to the Emperor and the Duke of Austria at Metz, and freed the royal captive. The joy of the English at the re-appearance of their monarch was unbounded.

(1) "Post mortem vero dicti Conradi Marchisi, Franci qui nondum discesserant, petebant ab uxore Marchisi ad opus regis Franciæ custodiam urbis Tyri. Quæ respondit eis, *Se nulli eam reddere nisi regi Angliæ, sicut dominus suus moriens ordinavit.*" (p. 1,243.)

Philip Augustus on his return to France—having deserted the cause of the Crusaders—openly imputed to Richard the murder of Montferrat, and appointed a guard for his own person, alleging the necessity of defending himself from a like attack. “Contrary to the custom of his ancestors,” say the contemporary writers, “he was always escorted by armed men, and instituted for greater security guards of his body, selected from the men most devoted to him, and armed with great maces of iron or brass.”⁽¹⁾ The institution of these body-guards, then called *sergents-à-masses*, astonished and displeased many, and obliged the King to convoke the assembly of the barons and bishops of France. He renewed to them his former imputations against the King of England: “Is it then extraordinary,” asked he, “that I should take more care of myself than usual?”⁽²⁾

Such appears, certainly, to have been the origin of the institution of the French sergeants-at-arms, which existed many centuries after the belief in the mysterious power of the Old Man of the Mountain had disappeared. The English chroniclers make no allusion to the appointment of a body-guard by Richard. It is remarkable how much more ample in details are the accounts of the French writers, a remark which applies equally to the present time, so that often we are obliged to have recourse to French records to elucidate points of English history. One would be led to suppose, however, that the fact of

(1) *Vide* Thierry, *Hist. de la Conquête de l'Angleterre*, t. ii., l. xi.

(2) Guill. Neubrig., p. 437.

the appointment of a body-guard by Richard I. would not have been lost sight of by the English or French chroniclers, and if established by him in the Holy Land, it would tend moreover to strengthen the belief that he had not subsidised the services of the chief of the Assassins.

There are intimate points of resemblance in the duties and privileges of the English and French sergeants-at-arms, which supply the strongest argument that the institution of the two corps was contemporaneous; but Dr. Samuel Pegge, who collected all the information to be obtained on the subject, could only conjecture that the appointment of sergeants-at-arms in the English royal household was coeval with the French.⁽¹⁾ At what time soever this body-guard made its appearance at our court, its creation was unquestionably most ancient.

The word "sergeant" comes to us from the French *sergent*, modified from the Latin *serviens*, which term seems to have been applied at first to all servants of the Crown, on account of the *servitium* or service rendered by them. *Servientes* sometimes denoted retainers, not necessarily tenants, sometimes esquires, more commonly officers of the household, and later serving-men. In Blount's *Tenures* we read, "Mayford, Co. Surrey, is a Serjeantry of our Lord the King (19 Hen. III.), and the owner of it ought to find one *Servientem*, with an Haubergeon and a Lance." This seems to be in distinction to the service of finding "*Hominem Peditem*," or "*Homi-*

(1) *Curialia*, vol. ii., pt. v.

nem cum arcu et sagittis," which we find recorded in the same work. In the Wardrobe Account of Edward I., there are several entries of individuals who offered themselves and received pay, and were admitted to serve at arms (*tanquam serviens ad arma*); others, again, substituted for such as were obliged to serve (*loco servientis ad arma*), and they were to partake alike of the advantages, as the other "*servientes*" of the King's household.⁽¹⁾ Their daily pay was 1s. for themselves and horses, and without horses 8d. They do not seem to have been under the immediate banners and guidance of particular knights and bannerets; some were both maintained and paid by the King (*tam ad mensam quam ad vadia regis in munitione castri*), which appears to have been the case when they were in garrison. A knight received 2s. per diem, a shield-bearer 1s., a constable without a horse 1s., a vintnar (a commander of twenty men) 4d.; so we can pretty well ascertain the position of a sergeant-at-arms to be what we may term a high non-commissioned officer. Edward I. had twenty-nine sergeants-at-arms, and they received two marks each for a winter-robe.⁽²⁾ The "*servientes*" of the panetry, buttery, and napery also received the same.⁽³⁾ The gradations of officers in the old establishment of Royal Households consisted of pages, grooms, yeomen, and sergeants. (See Spelman, *v. Serviens*.—Also *Household Hen. VI.*, p. 19, Soc. Ant.) *Servientes*

(¹) *Liber Quotidianus* (Soc. Ant.), pp. 211-214.

(²) *Ibid.*, p. 316.

(³) *Ibid.*, p. 314.

included the mass of the troops beneath the knightly dignity. In the ordinances for the behaviour of Richard I.'s and Philip II.'s army, on their passage to the Holy Land, none but knights (*milites*) or clerics were allowed to play at games of chance for more than twenty *solidi*. But if *servientes* or sailors play, &c., they were to undergo the very unpleasant punishment of being ducked for three consecutive days. (Hoveden, 675.) *Servientes ad arma* were soldiers in armour, and consequently of superior position, as all found their own equipment. Philip II., therefore, or Richard I., in selecting officers for the responsible duty of watching around them day and night, doubtless made choice of those military men—of a grade between the knights and petty officers—who were best adapted for the office, and on whom they could rely for continuous service.

The French sergeants-at-arms rendered essential service to Philip Augustus, by the valiant stand they made at the battle of Bouvines. Their heroism is recorded on two stone slabs, which were originally erected in the Church of St. Catherine du Val des Écoliers at Paris, and are now preserved in the Church of St. Denis.⁽¹⁾ They bear the following inscription:—

“A la prière des Sergens d'Armes, Monsieur St. Louis fonda cette Eglise, et y mit la première pierre : et fut pour la joye de la Victoire qui fut au pont de Bouvines l'an 1214. Les Sergens d'Armes pour le

(¹) These stones are figured by Daniel, Lenoir, Willemin, and by Guilhermy.

tems gardoient le dit Pont: et vouïrent qui si Dieu leur donnoit Victoire, ils fonderoient l'Eglise de Sainte Catherine, et ainsi fut-il."

It may be inferred from this, that sergeants-at-arms were primarily persons of ample fortunes, and it is stated that they were all gentlemen, and even persons of distinction.⁽¹⁾ On one of these interesting relics aforesaid, are sculptured figures of St. Louis and his two sergeants-at-arms, in the costume which they wore on occasions of ceremony, or when doing duty in the palace. On the other, a Dominican friar (probably their chaplain) and two sergeants, equipped for the field, or for escort duty. They are entirely covered with plate-armour (the heads alone excepted) over a chain gambeson; one of them wears on his head, apparently, a bassinet; the other the peculiar flowing cap of the fifteenth century, from which we are enabled to assign the date of these sculptures.⁽²⁾ They are all armed with swords, and bear their distinctive weapon, the mace, which is about as large as those borne by beadles at our English universities. They are also armed with cross-bows,⁽³⁾ and in 1388 with lances.⁽⁴⁾ The number of these guards at first is not stated, but they must have been numerous, as they were reduced by Philip VI. to one hundred.⁽⁵⁾

(1) *Mem. de la Chambre des Comptes*; cited by Daniel, *Mil. Fran.*, tom. ii., liv. ix., ch. xii.

(2) See also Meyrick, i. 89.

(3) "Ils portèrent toujours leurs Carquois pleins de Carreaux." (Stat. Philip IV., 1285.)

(4) See *Mil. Fran.*, tom. ii., liv. ix., ch. xii.

(5) *Mem. de la Chambre des Comptes*, fol. 104.

In 1393 there were only eight; after that they fell into insignificance, and their office has disappeared altogether; with us they survived in power to a much later period, and they still exist, although now entirely degenerated into a civil capacity.

In the Household Book of Edward III., p. 3, printed by the Society of Antiquaries, we find:—

" Sergeants-at-Arms, with their retinew—				
Standard Bearers	...	...	...	4
Sergeants	...	...	...	67
Men of Arms	...	...	...	3
Archers on horse	...	...	...	7
Archers on foot	...	...	...	9

In the succeeding reign of Richard II. they fell into disgrace, as we shall perceive from the following extract of the statute ordering their dismissal:—

"At the grievous complaint made by the Commons to our Lord the King, in this Parliament, of the excessive and superfluous number of Sergeants-at-arms, and of many great extortions and oppressions done by them to the people, the King therefore doth will, that they shall be discharged; and that of them and others there shall be taken of good and sufficient persons to the number of thirty and no more from henceforth; and, moreover, the King prohibiteth them to meddle with anything that toucheth not their office."⁽¹⁾

We have some account of them in Henry V.'s reign, in the book of Orders of Thomas of Lancaster (brother of the king). It would appear that

(¹) "Item, a la grevous complaint de la communalte fait a notre seigneur le roi," &c.—Stat. 13 Ric. II., cap. vi.—See Taylor's *Regality*, p. 159.

disputes of precedence had arisen at the siege of Caen (1417), from which place these orders are dated.

“Orders made by Thomas of Lancaster, for the placing of Kings (at arms), Herald, and Serjeants-at-arms :

“The said Serjeants, who are principally founded and ordained for the conservation of the person of the King and his Lords, shall keep place, and go on either side, that is on the right hand and on the left before him that shall carry the sword, or before the other Lords, to keep and defend away from the press of the people on either side.”⁽¹⁾

We are indebted to the researches of Mr. Pegge for bringing under notice a further account of these officers in one of the Harl. MSS., No. 229. It bears no date, but appears to belong to about the time of James I., or his immediate successors. It is headed, “The office of the Serjeant-at-arms attending the King’s Majesty :”

“Know that, in times past, no gentleman performed the service of a Serjeant-at-arms, nor was ever sworn to the King, if he were not the son of a Knight at the least ; but of late time it hath pleased our Sovereign to elect thereunto the worthy son of a Gentleman without reproach.” (Fol. 254.)

“And the Serjeants-at-arms in Service Royal, ought to stand before the King in such fashion attired, that is to say, his head bare, and all his body armed to the feet with arms of a Knight riding, wearing a gold chain with a medal bearing all the

⁽¹⁾ From Vincent’s *Precedents*, in the College of Arms.

King's Coats with a Peion ⁽¹⁾ Royal or Mace of silver in his right hand, and in his left a truncheon.

"That a serjeant-at-arms may apprehend or attach any subject of the King, or other whatsoever he be, remaining in the four seas of England, or any part thereof, be it in any house, castle, or fort, that will (may) be taken to make his arrest, may raze and beat down to the ground, always excepted the eldest son of the King, and the ladies his daughters.

"The serjeants-at-arms, by their oath, may, and by the right of the Sovereign ought to go before the King, armed for the mere safeguard of the person of the King's Majesty. And the power of a serjeant-at-arms is, that if rescue be made unto him, he may levy the power of the county, where the rescue is made."

These officers possessed considerable privileges: no one else dared to present himself in the King's presence, armed. ⁽²⁾ They were amenable to the King only, or to the Constable, and their appointment was for life, not being liable to dismissal on the demise of the Crown, like other officers of the household, subject, of course, to the Sovereign's pleasure, *dum se bene gesserint*, for Richard II. dismissed them all summarily. The constitution of the French sergeants-at-arms, in these respects, was exactly similar. ⁽³⁾ The French ones were placed in charge of

(1) "A barbed javelin." (Meyrick, i. 89.)—"A pawn at chess." (Stevens's *Span. Dict.*)—The head of a pawn resembles the ancient mace.

(2) Statute 1 Edward III., st. 2, c. 15.

(3) Bouteiller, *Somme Rurale*, l. ii.—See Du Cange, *v. Serviens*.

distant castles occasionally, but the English sergeants appear to have been invested with wider powers than their Gallic *confrères*. Their duty was not only to attend the King and watch around his person in his palace, and in full armour when he lay abroad, but also to arrest traitors and other offenders about the Court, for which the mace was deemed sufficient authority, and they received fees from the persons arrested, proportioned to their rank.

"*Brandon*. Your office, serjeant; execute it.

Sergeant-at-Arms.

Sir,

My Lord the Duke of Buckingham, and Earl

Of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton, I

Arrest thee of high treason, in the name

Of our most Sovereign King."—*Hen. VIII.*, a. i., s. 1.

It is remarkable that Henry VIII. did not make use of a sergeant-at-arms to arrest Wolsey. He employed a gentleman of his privy-chamber on that errand.⁽¹⁾ Charles I. sent a sergeant-at-arms to apprehend the five members of the House of Commons.⁽²⁾

In the reign of Henry IV., we find a sergeant-at-arms employed to convey the King's commands in a letter to the Abbot of Robertsbridge, to contribute a forced loan.⁽³⁾

Edward IV. had "Sergeantes of Armes iiij., chosen, proved men of honour and condition, whereof ii. alway to be attending upon the King's person

⁽¹⁾ Cavendish's *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*.—See also Pegge's *Curialia*, vol. i. Addit. to Gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber.

⁽²⁾ Clarendon, ii. 556.—Also Forster's *Arrest of the Five Members*, p. 122.

⁽³⁾ *Sussex Archæol. Colls.*, viii. 160.

and chamber, and to avoyde the press of people before." (1)

Henry VII., when about to proceed on his expedition into France, in 1492, summoned amongst others the sergeants-at-arms to attend him in person. A new body-guard had then been instituted—the Yeoman of the Guard, and the fact of the sergeants requiring a warning, would show that they were gradually subsiding into domestic officers.

"If any serjeant-at-arms, having any fee for the said office, go not with the King's Grace in this voyage over the sea, having no license of the King's Highness, under the Great Seal, to be out of the said army, that he forfeit his fee granted to him for exercising of the said office." (2)

By a statute of Henry VIII., "all serjeaunts-at-arms for the time being may use and wear in their apparell dublets of velvet, damask, or chamlet (camlet), and in their jacketts and coates damask and chamlet, and gowns of chamlet, at their pleasure." (3) By this we may learn that they had no distinctive uniform.

The Household Book of Orders of Edward VI. states:—"There shall be serjeants-at-arms four, chosen, proved men of honor and condition, for the King and his honourable household. Whereof two alway to be attending upon the King's person and chamber." Probably in addition to the former ones.

(1) *Lib. Nig. Domus R. Edw. IV.*, p. 4; printed by Soc. Ant.

(2) Rastall's *Statutes*, an. 7 mo. Hen. VII., c. 3.

(3) 7th Hen. VIII., c. 7.

In the procession to Westminster, "serjeants-at-arms, with their maces, going on either side the way." (Leland's *Collectanea*, iv. 311.)

Queen Elizabeth had twenty-five sergeants-at-arms, with daily pay of 12d. each, and a table. ⁽¹⁾

In King James I.'s time, they received the same amount of pay, but were reduced to sixteen. ⁽²⁾

Charles I. granted them, in the first year of his reign, an exemption from the payment of fifteenths and tenths. ⁽³⁾ In 1629, he took away the table from them, and allowed each of them 15d. per diem in lieu of it. ⁽⁴⁾

We lose sight of them during the interregnum of the Commonwealth. Charles II. increased their daily pay to 3s., and 2s. 6d. board wages. ⁽⁵⁾ Also it was ordered "that the sixteen serjeants-at-arms wait quarterly, and four wait each quarter; that four serjeants-at-arms do give their attendance every Sunday and Holy-day, and whensoever We shall go to church: and that two serjeants-at-arms only shall attend us in all progresses, and attend whenever the Sword of State is carried." ⁽⁶⁾ James II. was attended by sixteen at his coronation. "The Lord Chamberlain issued his warrant to the Master of the Jewel-house to deliver sixteen of His Majesty's maces in his custody, to the serjeant-at-arms, therein men-

⁽¹⁾ Bibl. Cotton., *Titus*, B. iii.

⁽²⁾ Order of Household, an. 1604, in *Bibl. Harl.*, No. 642.

⁽³⁾ Rymer, xviii. 328.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, xix. 126.

⁽⁵⁾ Rotulus Servorum, in the Lord Chamberlain's Office.

⁽⁶⁾ *Ordinances of Charles II.'s Household*, p. 357, Soc. Ant.

tioned:" as we read in Sandford's *History of the Coronation of James II.*, p. 35, and a figured representation of them is given.

In the MS. before quoted (*Harl.*, No. 297), an account is given of the ceremony of investing a sergeant with his collar:—

"The Creation of a Serjeant-at-arms:"

"On a sermon-day, in his Majesty's passage to chapel, his Majesty is pleased to make some stay in the Presence Chamber; and there the serjeant-at-arms to be created is presented by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlain, and the serjeant falls down on his knees.

"Then the senior serjeant having the collar of S.S., delivers it to the Lord Chamberlain, and his lordship presents it to his Majesty, who is pleased to put it about the neck of the serjeant-at-arms. The senior serjeant likewise delivers the mace to the Lord Chamberlain, which his lordship presents to his Majesty, and his Majesty lays it on the right shoulder of the person to be created, and says, 'Rise up, serjeant-at-arms, and esquire for ever.'" (1)

The ceremony of creation is now wholly dispensed with, and the office is conferred by patent. The sergeants that now remain are annexed to certain high offices. There is one in attendance on the Lord Chancellor, another on the Speaker of the House of Commons, and a third on the Lord Mayor of London. Another was formerly attached to the

(1) See *Curialia*, part v.

Lord High Treasurer, until that office was abolished in 1782. The Chancellor formerly formed a part of the King's household, which may account for his being attended by that officer.

The Speaker's sergeant is likewise considered an officer of the House of Commons. His appointment runs thus:—"We do give and grant to our trusty and well-beloved . . . the place and office of one of our serjeants-at-arms in ordinary, to attend upon our royal person when there is no Parliament; and at the time of every Parliament to attend upon the Speaker of the House of Commons."

Richard III. conferred upon the Lord Mayor of York for the time being the title of captain, or chief sergeant-at-arms. "Major Civitatis illius pro tempore existens imperpetuum esset capitalis serviens ad arma."⁽¹⁾

ARCHER GUARD OF EDWARD III.

King Edward III. raised a corps of 120 mounted archers (*sagittarii equites*), "of the best and bravest men that could be selected in all England," as a personal guard, "*ad eos, juxta latus nostrum moraturos, retinendum.*" To these, and to the thirty sergeants-at-arms, the safety of his person was con-

Archer Guard
of Edward

⁽¹⁾ Rymer, xii. 258, *an.* 1485.—The mace was granted to the Chief Magistrate of York, and the title of *Lord Mayor*, by Richard II., in 1393. The same King also gave his own sword from his side to be borne for ever before the Lord Mayor of York. This sword is said to have been presented to that King by his father-in-law, the Emperor Sigismund. It is borne only on grand occasions; it is very heavy, and could only be wielded by a powerful man. (See Drake's *Eboracum*, b. i., ch. vi., and Torr's *Antiq. of York*.)

fided. The order for their election in 1356 is given in Rymer.

Richard II. selected Cheshire-men as a body-guard, on account of their known attachment to his person; and orders were addressed to the Dukes of Lancaster and York, and the Earl of Derby, to raise men-at-arms and archers for this purpose.⁽¹⁾ Some have reckoned their number at 2,000; ⁽²⁾ they mounted and relieved guard night and day.⁽³⁾ He took the Cheshire archers of his guard into Ireland.⁽⁴⁾

In the Household Book of Edward IV., we find that the King had twenty-four archers, who ran before him in pairs, "*pur gard corps du Roy.*" These were called the "King's wachemen." (*Liber Niger Domus Regis*, fol. 43, Bibl. Harl. 642.—Also *Household Ordinances*, printed for Soc. Ant., p. 47.)

YEOMEN OF THE GUARD.

Yeomen of
the Guard.

"The King's Body Guard of Yeomen of the Guard" was instituted by Henry VII., at his coronation in 1485. "On which day," says Lord Verulam "as if the crown upon his head had put peril into his thoughts), he did institute, for the better securing of his person, a band of fifty archers, under a captain, to attend by the name of Yeomen of his Guard."⁽⁵⁾

In order to give the body-guard an ostensible appearance of mere state, the King wished "that

⁽¹⁾ Rymer, viii., p. 14.

⁽²⁾ *Vita Ric. II.*, p. 132.

⁽³⁾ Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.*, p. 354.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 357.—Otterbourne, p. 200.

⁽⁵⁾ *Hist. of the Reign of Henry VII.*, p. 7.

it might be thought to be rather a matter of dignity (after the imitation of what he had seen abroad), than any matter of diffidence appropriate to his own case; and he made it to be understood for an ordinance not temporary, but to hold in succession for ever."

Hall gives pretty nearly the same account of the origin of the corps:—"Wherefore," says he, "for the savegarde and preservation of his owne body, he constituted and ordayned a certayn numbre, as well of good archers as of divers other persons, being hardy, strong, and of agilitie, to give daileye attendaunce on his person, whom he named 'Yomen of his Garde,' which president men thought that he learned of the Frenche Kyng when he was in Fraunce; for men remember not any Kyng of England before that tyme which used such a furniture of daily souldjours."⁽¹⁾ The chronicler probably alluded to the *number* of the guard being stronger than any heretofore.

The French model alluded to above, which Henry VII., when Earl of Richmond, may have seen, appears to have been—from much analogy in its composition—a corps of archers of the guard organised by Louis XI., in 1475, called "*La Petite Garde de son Corps*."⁽²⁾

The term *yeoman* is a corruption of *young man*⁽³⁾, and was originally used to denote menial servants,

⁽¹⁾ *Chronicles*, p. 425.—Also Holinshed.

⁽²⁾ Daniel, *Mil. Fran.*, tom. ii., liv. ix., ch. xiii.

⁽³⁾ "Yeoman. Sax. *gemanan*, consortium, tubernia; *gemane* et *geman*, communis, vel potius a *geonga*, quod juvenem significat." (Spelman, *Gloss.*—See also *Notes and Queries*, 3rd S., ix. 434.)

who were selected for being strong and active—consequently young. In a statute, 33 Hen. VIII., c. x., s. 6, “any servantes, commonly called younge-men (yeoman in original), or groomes, husbandmen, laborers, and artificers.” In *Romeo and Juliet* we read :

“Such comfort as do lusty young men feel.” (Act. i., sc. 2.)

Ritson, in his note to this line, says:—“*Young men* are certainly *yeomen*. So in *A Lytell Geste of Robyn Hode*, printed by Wynkin de Worde:—

“‘Robin commaunded his wight *yong men*,
Of Iii. wyght *yonge men*,
Seven score of wyght *yonge men*.
Buske you, my merry *yonge men*.’

In all these instances Copland’s edition, printed not many years after, reads—*yeomen*.”

It was the *yeoman* retainer, or the faithful *yeoman* domestic, who had helped to fight the battles of England. Elizabethan writers often speak of the ancient yeomen, who distinguished themselves in a military capacity in the wars of the Middle Ages: the expression, however, is only to be taken in a general sense, as denoting the stout, able-bodied, inferior ranks of the people who composed the greater part of the infantry. There were no troops specially called *yeomen*. It was not till about the time of Henry VII. that the term *yeoman* occurs in its present acceptation—namely, as a petty landholder, probably as having received small grants of land as a reward for services. Camden gives the following *Ordines Angliæ*, and says:—“Quod ad reipublicæ

nostræ divisionem attinet, constat ex Rege, sive Monarcha, Nobilibus, Civibus, Ingenuis, quos *yeomen* vocamus, et Opificibus." His definition of *yeoman* is:—" *Plebei*, sive *yeomen*, quos alii Ingenuos [from ἐγγενής, free-born], lex nostra *homines legales* dicit, et ex agris, quos optimo jure tenent, quadraginta ad minimum solidos quotannis colligunt."

The yeomen, therefore, at that time, composed a distinct class of society between the *cives* or burghers, and the *opifices* or working men. It is in this sense that the term *yeoman* is here to be understood, both with regard to natural rank in society, as well as to the subordination of officers in the royal household. This corps was expressly to be composed of the prime of those persons.

We often find mention made in the books of royal establishments of yeomen of the Crown. These were yeomen selected for *general* service in the King's household—men to be relied on not only for honesty, but likewise for prowess, and from this body "the Guard" might have been selected. They are described in the *Liber Niger Domus Edwardi IV.*:—

"Yeomen of Crowne, xxiiij. most semely persones, clenely and strongest archers, honest of conditions and of behavoure, bold men, chosen and tryed out of every lordes house in England, for theyre cunning and vertue; thereof one to be Yeoman of the Robes, another to be Yeoman of the Wardrobe of Beddes in Household; these ij in certayntie ete in the King's chambre dayly; other ij be Yeomen Ushers of Chambre, &c. Also it accordeth that they be chosen

men of manhoode in shootyng, and specially of vertuose conditions." (*Household Ordinances*, printed for Soc. Ant., p. 38.)

The Yeoman Body-guard has continued throughout the reign of every English sovereign since its institution to attract attention from the richness and peculiarity of its costume (the only instance in this country of the original fashion being retained), worn by men of stalwart size; and to claim respect for itself by the fidelity and admirable conduct of its members, who have ever (under trying circumstances, too, sometimes) continued to watch around the person of the sovereign with unswerving loyalty.

Mr. Pegge, to whom most of these remarks are due, records the following minute from the Council books to the honour of the corps, as being, as far as he could ascertain, the only crime of notoriety that can be imputed to this large body of men, of humble birth, in the course of full three hundred years⁽¹⁾ :—

“ In Council, Bishop’s Waltham,

“ July 14, 1554.

“ This day Richard Smith, one of the Yeomen of the Guard, for spreading abroad lewd and seditious books, was committed to the Marshalsea, his coat being first taken from his back, and he discharged his service.”—*Bibl. Harl.*, N^o 643, fol. 31.

Hall, however, records one other case, “*exceptio probat regulam* :”—

“ One Newbolt, Yeoman of the King’s Garde,

(¹) *Curialia*, pt. iii., p. 28.

whom the King highly favored, slew wilfully a servant of my Lord Willoughby's, in the Palace at Westminster; wherefore the King, abhorring that deed, and setting aside all affection, caused him to be hanged, in the Palace of Westminster, where he hong twoo daies, in example of other."⁽¹⁾

The number of the Yeomen of the Guard has varied in each succeeding reign, sometimes augmented by one sovereign, at others reduced on the plea of economy by another, or some of them discharged or put on half-pay summarily. Our bluff Harry, whose sumptuous spirit was so unlike that of his prudent progenitor, increased their number to such an amount, that they became something more than a mere body-guard, and were able to take part in military operations in the field. Their smallest number at any time during this reign appears to have been two hundred, of which one hundred were mounted.

Strength of
the Guard.

Although this King had instituted a new guard, under the name of "*Spears*," now called Gentlemen-at-arms (of whom more hereafter), he nevertheless maintained this, his father's garde-du-corps, in a bountiful manner; and when he left England to take the command of the army at the siege of Terouenne, in 1513, he was then attended by "six hundred archers of his Guard, all in white gaberdines and caps."⁽²⁾ This is the first occasion of their proceeding on active service, and they did their work well. When Tournay fell into the King's hands,

⁽¹⁾ *Chron.*, an. 1511, fol. xvi.

he left among other forces for its protection, four hundred archers of the guard. They styled themselves, besides Yeomen of the Guard, "Constables of Tournay," in a petition to Cardinal Wolsey.⁽¹⁾ In 1515, "all the souldiours, *except such as were of the King's Garde*, rebelled, and put the Lord Montjoye (Lieutenant of Tournay) in jeopardy of his life."⁽²⁾

Three years afterwards, when the place was given up to Francis I., Henry did not forget their services, for "he sent for all the Yeomen of the Guard that were come from Tournay, and after many good words given to them, he granted to them *iiiiid.* the day, without attendance, except they were specially recommended."⁽³⁾

In 1520, when the Earl of Surrey was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, he selected to accompany him "sundry gentlemen who had seen service at Tournay, and one hundred yeomen of the King's Guard."⁽⁴⁾ They continued to serve there for some years, for at the capture of the castle of Maynooth, in 1635, "John Griffin, Yeoman of the King's most honourable Guard, was killed with ordnance at the entry."⁽⁵⁾ The fact of their proceeding to Ireland is remarkable, as being the only instance of the body-guard going on active service when the King was not present.

⁽¹⁾ Cott. Lib., *Caligula*.—Also Strype's *Appen.*, i., pt. ii.

⁽²⁾ Hall.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 598.

⁽⁴⁾ Hall, p. 601.

⁽⁵⁾ See Fronde, *Hist. of England*, ii. 299.

Henry VIII., despite his selfishness and tyranny, was a popular monarch. His manly appearance, and his fondness for athletic games, went far to recommend him to the English people. The Yeomen of the Guard, being good archers, were often called upon to display their skill before their royal master. He was proud of his hardy yeomen, and they were a favourite corps. One day in May, 1515, they planned a little surprise for the King, after the prevailing fancy of the time. "The King and Queen (Katharine) were staying at Greenwich, and as they rode toward Shooter's Hill, they espied a company of tall yeomen, clothed all in green, with green hoods and bows and arrows, to the number of two hundred.⁽¹⁾ Then one of them, who called himself Robin Hood, came to the King, desiring him to see his men shoot, and the King was content. Then he whistled, and all the two hundred archers shot and loosed at once; and then he whistled again, and they shot again, and their arrows whistled by craft of the head,⁽²⁾ so that the noise was strange and great, and much pleased the King, the Queen, and all the company. All those archers were of the King's guard, and had thus apparelled themselves to make solace to the King." Afterwards Robin Hood, to sustain his character, regaled their Majesties with venison and wine, "to

(1) "The Guard" then continued at its full complement of 600, as 400 were in garrison at Tournay.

(2) Frequent mention of whistling arrows is made by writers, as a common device in diversions of this sort; though originally they had in all probability a real and substantial use as signals in the night, given by the outposts in the field or in garrison. They are supposed to have been first imported from China.

their great contentacion," and then escorted them back to Greenwich.⁽¹⁾

Upon another occasion, when "keeping a princely court at Windsor," the King caused sundry matches to be made with the long-bow, and by way of encouragement, he promised one of the archers of his guard, named Barlow, that if he won all the prizes, he should be duke over all archers. Barlow was successful, "whereat the King greatly rejoiced, and named him Duke of Shoreditch, for that this Barlow did dwell there."⁽²⁾

In 1544, the Yeomen of the Guard escorted the King to the siege of Boulogne. "Sir Anthony Wyngfelde, with five hundred of the garde, camped at Caussey Point."⁽³⁾ From the same source we learn "The Ordre how the King's Majestie Departed out of the Toune of Calleys, on Fridaye, the 25th of July."

"Then the garde on fote, that is to say, 25 archers on the right side, and as many gunners (*arquebusiers*?) on the left side; . . . the King's Majestie in the myds of his Pikemen (*Gentlemen Pensioners*?); then followed the men of armes; also alooff off, there were 50 archers on horseback, and on the left side as many

⁽¹⁾ Hall, p. 56.

⁽²⁾ Wood's *Bowman's Glory, or Archery Revived*, 1682.—In 1785, the Earl of Aylesford, then Captain, in honour of the original institution of the Yeomen as a body of archers, gave three prizes to be shot for with the long-bow by ten of the Yeomen. The cup, bearing an engraved inscription recording the event, was won by Ralph Coulthard.

⁽³⁾ *Diarium; super viagio Regis, obsidione et captione Boloniæ*, in Rymer, tom. xv., p. 52.—Also Bibl. Cotton., *Caligula*, E 4. fol. 90.

Gonners on Horsebacke; and at Sandingfelde stood embatyled the Captaine of the garde, with all the garde and others in good ordre, till the King was past; every bande in ordre having his banner displayed."

In the succeeding reign of Edward VI. the guard⁽¹⁾ continued in high estimation. The young King inherited his father's fondness for athletic sports, and often diverted himself in company with his Yeomen. "It was appointed," we read in his journal, "there should be ordinarily an Hundred Archers and an Hundred Halberdiers, either good Wrestlers, or Casters of the Bar, or Leapers, or Runners, or tall men of personage."

When the Marshal St. André arrived at the Court, having been appointed by Henri II. of France to invest the King with the Order of St. Michael, he was entertained, amongst other ways, with feats of archery and trials of strength. "Monsieur le Marechal dined with me. After dinner, saw the strength of the English archers." The King did not consider it inconsistent with his dignity to contend in the sports with his yeomen, even in the presence of the French Marshal. He is candid enough to admit on what points he was beaten. "The first day of the challenge," says he, "at Base (i.e., *Prisoner's base*) or Running, the King won." And "on another day, I lost the challenge of shooting at Rounds, and won at Rovers."

(1) The Yeomen are often spoken of as "*The Guard*," in King Edward's *Journal*, and elsewhere.

In 1552, when the young King went "in progress" to Sussex, he was attended by his own guard, to whom, by warrant dated the 5th of June, had been delivered "cxxvj. liverie bowes and iiij^{xx} guilt javelinges, for their furniture for this year, and cxxv. sheaves of arrows, which with their cases and girdles cost xxxij*li*. vjs. viij*d*." ⁽¹⁾ And in anticipation of the progress of 1550, there was "a warrant to Sir Philip Hobie, Knight, Master of the Ordnance, and to his deputies, to deliver unto John Pers, clerke of the cheque, ccc. livery bowes, ccc. sheefs of arrows, with girdells and cases to the same, and also ccc. halberds, for the furniture of ccc. of the King's Majestie's Yeomen Extraordinarie, to attend on his Highness' person during his pleasure;" and on the 6th of September following, "a warrant to Sir Edward Peckham, for vjCxx*li*. to the Yomen of the garde extraordinarye, for wayting this progresse for Julie and August." ⁽²⁾

Queen Mary kept up the strength of "the Guard," and expended a great sum on the ornamentation of their uniform, as may be learnt by an order, preserved in the Harl. MSS., No. 643, "to deliver to Peter Richardson, maker of the spangles for the rich coats of the Queen's Highness's guard, the sum of one thousand pounds."

The coats were likewise to be embroidered, as appears by another warrant, of the same year, to pay "to the above-mentioned Peter Richardson, gold-

⁽¹⁾ MS. Reg. 18, c. xxiv., f. 219*b*.

⁽²⁾ See *Sussex Archæol. Collec.*, x. 199.

smith, for 7,175 ounces of spangles gilt, delivered to the Queen's embroiderers, for embroidering the coats of Her Majesty's Guard, Footmen, and Messengers."

Queen Elizabeth continued the Yeomen in Ordinary to the number of 200, but reduced the Extra-Yeomen to 107.⁽¹⁾

Hentzner gives some account of the Yeomen of the Guard. He was present at Greenwich in 1598, and saw Queen Elizabeth dine in public according to custom. "The Yeomen of the Guard," he writes (*Satellites Regii*), "entered bareheaded, cloathed in scarlet, with a golden rose upon their backs, bringing in at each turn a course of twenty dishes." "This guard consists of the tallest and stoutest men that can be found in all England, being carefully selected for the service."⁽²⁾

Mr. Pegge states that the office of carrying up the dishes to the royal table continued to be a branch of their duty up to the time when he wrote, 1791.⁽³⁾ Whether, after this service performed, they took their station by the *buffet*, or side-board on which the plate was displayed, and so derived their *sobriquet* of *beef-eaters*, or from the fact of their well-fed appearance, being all notoriously big men, and their dress making them look bigger still, is not very easy to determine, and is fortunately a point of no great importance. Mr. Pegge dissents from the buffet derivation, with which, he asserts, they had nothing to do; that duty devolving on an officer of superior

Beef-eaters.

⁽¹⁾ *Curialia*, pt. iii., p. 29.

⁽²⁾ *Travels in England*. Edit. Strawberry Hill, p. 52.

⁽³⁾ *Curialia*, p. 31.

rank, viz., a gentleman usher; and he believes that they have to thank King Henry VIII. for the appellation, from an amusing circumstance related in Fuller's *Church History*, book vi., which, in brief, is to the following effect:—

The King, disguised as one of the Guard, called on the Abbot of Reading, who set before the visitor a sirloin of beef, to which the pseudo-yeoman did ample justice, and which elicited a remark from the Abbot, that he would give a hundred pounds to be able to eat as heartily. Shortly afterwards the good Abbot found himself committed a close prisoner to the Tower, and kept on bread and water; at length a piece of beef was set before him, of which the holy man ate voraciously. The King then appeared *in propria persona*, and claimed the hundred pounds. Mr. Pegge remarks on this, that the Abbot would never afterwards see a Yeoman of the Guard without connecting the idea of a *beef-eater*, and the story, when circulated, might have entailed that name upon the corps. Fuller calls it “a pleasant and true story,” very unpleasant, however, to the Abbot, and very improbable to us, so far as the derivation of the name is concerned, but quite in accordance with the spirit of the time.

The term is used by Prince Rupert in a letter to Colonel Legge, dated Hereford, March 31, 1645: “Desire the King to bring as few scullions and *beef-eaters* with him as possible, else this army and he cannot quarter in a place.”⁽¹⁾

(1) Copied in Warburton's *Prince Rupert*, p. 73.

Be the derivation as it may, it is certain that their table was so liberally supplied, up to the time of its abolition, when board-wages were allowed as an equivalent, that the term *beef-eater* may not have been misapplied, as appears from the following extract:—

“THE TABLE.

“Thirty men mounted guard, or signed the muster-roll at St. James’s every day. Daily allowance for the table for those thirty men, a messenger and servant:—

Beef	...	...	24 lbs.	} 58 lbs. weighed out before the Yeomen’s servant or messenger.
Mutton	...	...	18 lbs.	
Veal	...	...	16 lbs.	
Butter	...	...	2 lbs.	
Bread	...	...	36 loaves.	
Beer	...	...	{ 27 gallons in winter. 28 gallons in summer.	

“Vegetables in sufficient proportion and of the best in season. Salt, pepper, oil, vinegar, and mustard.

“The dinner was cooked in the Royal Kitchen, and served in two dinners, one for each guard.

“*Extra Allowances.*

“Haunches of venison twice in the year; five geese on Michaelmas Day; and three plum-puddings every Sunday.

“On the birthdays of the King and Queen, the whole of the men capable of attending being on duty, the allowance was 216 lbs. of meat, 6 lbs. of butter, 144 loaves, 104 gallons of beer, and 20 doz. of wine, full quart bottles.

“On the birthdays of each of the Royal family, and whenever the guns fired on other occasions, called ‘pitcher days,’—double bread, 18 gallons of beer, and 5 doz. of wine, &c. &c.

“The table was abolished, by order of the Lords of the Treasury, in 1813, and board-wages allowed as an equivalent when on duty. The Ushers now receive four shillings, and the men two shillings and six pence per diem.” (*Records of the Corps of the Yeomen of the Guard*, by Thos. Smith, 1832.)

James I. had 200 Yeomen of the Guard,⁽¹⁾ and during the short life of his son Henry, a detachment

(¹) Account of the Household of King James I. (1615), in College of Arms.

of them was ordered to attend on him as a personal guard, when his establishment was formed. It was ordered that "two of them shall, with their halberds, attend at the gate to assist the porters to execute their office." ⁽¹⁾

Charles I. employed them to proceed to Somerset House, to enforce the extradition of the French attendants of the Queen:—

"His Majesty dispatched away to London the Captain of the Guard, attended with a competent number of his Yeomen, as likewise with heralds, messengers, and trumpeters; first to proclaim his Majesty's pleasure at Somerset House gate, which, if it were not speedily obeyed, the Yeomen of the Guard were to put it in execution, by turning all the French out of Somerset House by head and shoulders, and shutting the gate after them. Which news, as soon as the French heard, their courage came down, and they yielded to be gone next tide." ⁽²⁾

During the Commonwealth, the Yeomen of the Guard—like other royal appendages—disappeared, but were revived at the Restoration. Charles II. reduced, in 1668, their number to 100, and the supernumeraries were placed on half-pay of £15 per annum, and this has continued to be the establishment of the corps down to the present time. They had diet as well as wages when in waiting, but this was taken off in the reign of Queen Anne.

⁽¹⁾ Bibl. Harl., 642, fol. 257.—Also Birch's *Life of Prince Henry*, p. 448.

⁽²⁾ Ellis's *Orig. Letters*, 1 S., vol. iii., p. 245.

A room is allotted to them in St. James's Palace, which is called the Guard-Chamber. ⁽¹⁾

There is no record as to when the halbert or Arms. the present partisan was introduced into the corps. The term "archers" may have clung to them, long after the bow had ceased to be their appropriate weapon; as in France the "*Archers du Grand Prevôt*," the "City Archers," and "*Archers du Guet*," continued to be so denominated, although their arms were, or had become, halberts or arquebuses. As archery grew gradually out of use, the arquebus generally succeeded to the bow. In a passage just now quoted, Henry VIII. leaving Calais was escorted by "*the garde on fote*, that is to say, twenty-five archers on the right side, and as many *gunners* on the left side." These last were unquestionably armed with the arquebus. Further on mention is made of fifty archers on horseback: these may have retained the bow, for the figure of a mounted Yeoman of the Guard with the rose on his breast, and a bow in his hand, is very conspicuous in the illustration in Montfaucon of the interview of Francis I. and Henry VIII. ⁽²⁾ In the engraving of the siege of Boulogne, there are evidently four Yeomen of the Guard on duty near the person of the King; they are distinguished by their halberts, which have fringe

⁽¹⁾ *Present State of the British Court*, 1720.

⁽²⁾ *Monumens de la Monarchie Française*.—See also the bas-relief of the Hôtel Bourgthéroulde at Rouen, representing the meeting of Henry VIII. and Francis I., with figures of Sergeants-at-Arms and Yeomen of the Guard, and others, modelled in the Renaissance Court, Crystal Palace.

depending from the top of the shafts. A mounted Yeoman of the Guard is also figured in Grose's *Military Antiquities*, with an arquebus or carbine in his hand. It is copied from a work entitled *Diversarum Gentium Armatura Equestris*, printed at Amsterdam, 1617. Mr. Pegge is of opinion that the present partisan was not introduced till the Restoration.

On a memorial brass in Wingfield Church is represented the figure of a Yeoman of the Guard, in his coat, holding his halbert in his left hand, and with his right giving a loaf of bread to two poor men. Beneath is this inscription :—"Here lyeth the Body of Thomas Montague, borne in this Parish, where also he dyed March 31, 1630, when he had lived almost 92 years, and had byn a good parte thereof a Yeoman of the Guard, and a Friend to the Poore." (1)

In the procession of King Edward VI., the Yeomen appear with axes, then called bills or halberts. In Roper's *Life of Sir Thomas More*, p. 551, we read of "the companies of the Guard, with Hallbards and Billes." These weapons were not adapted for service on horseback, and therefore were exchanged for others when men were on mounted duty. The French Archers of the Guard, after the reign of Charles VII., carried halberts at Court, and exchanged them for lances when serving with the army; and from the time of Francis I. a portion of them were armed with the arquebus. (2) When George II. went to Hanover in 1743 to take the

(1) Ashmole's *Antiquities of Berkshire*, iii. 35.

(2) See Daniel, *Mil. Fran.*, tom. ii., liv. x., p. 147, edit. 1721.

command of the army, the Yeomen of the Guard who attended him mounted guard with their partisans when the King halted, but on other occasions they were armed with carbines. "These carbines," says Mr. Pegge, "are now (1791) lodged in the Tower."⁽¹⁾

The Captain of the Yeoman of the Guard received no fee or salary from the King until the Restoration, his only allowance having been a gown, as an official habit, of the value of £14.⁽²⁾ The office, however, was generally combined with one of emolument, such as the Vice-Chamberlainship, which post, at the time of making the Eltham Statutes (1526), carried with it a salary of 100 marks.⁽³⁾

Charles II., in lieu of the gown, bestowed the more substantial remuneration of a salary of £1,000 per annum. In 1835, it was raised to £1,200, as all fees payable to the Captain on appointments were abolished.

The Captaincy is always held now by a Peer, and has been so since the Restoration, and he is the only officer of the corps who vacates his office on a change of ministry. He carries an ebony baton, tipped with gold, as his badge of office, and like the other officers of the corps, wears a rich modern military uniform.

The Lieutenant was added to the list of officers

⁽¹⁾ *Curialia*, pt. iii., p. 89.

⁽²⁾ *Desiderata Curiosa*, 4to, vol. i., p. 59.

⁽³⁾ As in the case of Sir Anthony Wingfield, *temp.* Henry VIII. Also the Lieutenantcy of the Tower held by Sir Hugh Vaughan, *temp.* Henry VII.—Sir Walter Raleigh held the office at the same time with that of Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber.

in 1668, with a salary of £500, which continues the same. He bears a baton, but mounted with silver instead of gold.

The Ensign, or Standard-bearer, was added to the corps at the same time with the Lieutenant, his salary being then fixed at its present amount of £300 per annum. There is no standard of the corps in existence now, but there is no doubt there was one formerly.⁽¹⁾ This officer also bears an ebony baton, similar to the Lieutenant.

Four Exons, or, as they are styled in their commissions, "Corporals," were also additions made at the period before referred to. Their subsequent name of Exon or Exempt is manifestly borrowed from those officers of the French *Garde du Corps*, who were styled in their commissions *Capitaines Exemts des Gardes du Corps*,⁽²⁾ and they had charge of the night-watch.⁽³⁾ In both cases the two offices are completely parallel. The Exon of the Yeomen of the Guard is a resident officer, who sleeps at St. James's, as commander of the yeomen on duty, which no other officer of the corps does. In consequence of this service, he was *exempted* from the usual guard-mountings.⁽⁴⁾

As to the word "Corporal"—no doubt derived, as many other military terms were, from the Spanish⁽⁵⁾—

(1) In the *Gentleman's Mag.* for May, 1790, p. 400, a description of a drawing is given of the Standard of the Gentleman Pensioner in 1639.

(2) Daniel, *Mil. Fran.*, tom. ii., liv. x., p. 141, edit. 1721.

(3) Richelet, *Dict.*

(4) A list of French officers "*exempts de monter la garde*," see *Elémens de l'Art Militaire*, par d'Hericourt. (1748. Soc. Ant.)

(5) "Cabo de esquadra," qui caput et qui cæteris præest." (Minshew.)

it had originally a wider sense. Thus Holinshed, speaking of the armament sent by Elizabeth, in 1560, to assist the Scots against the French, uses the word "Corporals" for Captains; and Stowe, speaking of the naval force fitted out for the "Portugal Expedition" in 1588, alluding to five captains of ships, calls them "Corporals of the Squadrons." (p. 755.) Corporals of the Field, *eodem tempore*, were equal in rank with a Captain of Horse, and performed the same duties as Aides-de-Camp do at present.

The office of the Clerk of the Cheque was instituted by Henry VIII. In 1660 the pay of this officer was advanced from £20 to £150 per annum. In 1772 he was permitted to wear the uniform; and in 1787 he was allowed to carry a baton.

King William IV. took considerable interest in both Body-guards of Gentlemen-at-Arms and Yeomen. In 1835 his Majesty commanded that in future "the officers in both corps shall be named by the King, who will reserve to himself exclusively the selection of the most proper persons, as vacancies occur, from lists kept by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army."

It was also ordered that "the Lieutenant of the Yeomen of the Guard shall be, or have been, a colonel or lieutenant-colonel in the army; the Ensign and Clerk of the Cheque, lieutenant-colonels or majors in the army; and the Exons, captains."⁽¹⁾

By highly proper regulation, vacancies among privates for the future were to be filled up by that

⁽¹⁾ None but officers on half-pay are eligible.

class which is an honour to the country—deserving non-commissioned officers, not lower in rank than sergeants. The height of the Yeomen (namely, five feet ten inches) to be dispensed with, the chief object being good character and meritorious service; but they are not to be of too short a stature. By these salutary regulations, this National Corps is placed on a higher footing than ever, and should at least retain that share of popular respect which it has ever enjoyed.

The present establishment of the Yeomen of the Guard, without the commissioned officers, is as follows:—One Assistant-Adjutant; two Messengers, four superannuated; two Exempts; and ninety-five Yeomen, eight of whom are now called Serjeant-Majors, formerly Ushers, and receive £8 a-year more than a private yeoman. Six of the corps hold the ancient additional office of Yeomen Hangers; and two that of Yeomen Bed-goers. The duties of the former were to take down and put up the royal tapestry or arras, which was formerly always carried with the King when he went from one palace to another; and the latter had charge of the King's bedding. They had also charge of the King's tent and camp equipage, and went with George II. to Hanover in 1743. The pay of these officers is also £8 more than the privates. The pay of the privates is now reduced to £31 per annum, in addition to their army pensions.

The places were originally bought, even until after the accession of William IV., and heavy fees

were paid on appointment; for instance, in the year 1800 :—

	£	s.	d.
To the Captain	315	0	0
Clerk of the Cheque	10	10	0
Deputy	1	1	0
Captain's Secretary	5	5	0
Captain's Servant	0	16	0
Cloaks	5	0	0
Treat	5	5	0
Messenger	2	2	0
Sword	0	2	0
Quilt	0	2	6
Parliament, 1s. 6d.; Servant, 2s. .	0	3	6
Stamp and Warrant	1	5	0
	<hr/> £346 12 0 <hr/>		

The *Warders of the Tower* are a distinct body, never incorporated with the Yeomen of the Guard. They were probably Yeomen of the Crown, and most likely acted as Warders or Keepers of the Tower when that place was used as a palace as well as a garrison. They did not even wear the uniform till the reign of Edward VI. In a letter written by Sir William Wade, Knt., Lieutenant of the Tower, dated August 24, 1612, it appears, "That before the first commitment of the Duke of Somerset, in the time of King Edward VI., the Warders did never weare the King's coate; but he, seeing the paines they tooke, and to winne their favour, and to leave a memoriall of his favour to them, promised to procure His Majesty's cloth whensoever it should please His Majestie to sett him at liberty, which he, upon his enlargement, performed; and so it was ordered at that time they should be sworne Extraordinary

Yeomen of the Chamber, and that hath continued ever since.”⁽¹⁾

In the warrant which they receive at the present time from the Constable of the Tower—who has the sole and uncontrolled appointment of them—they are styled “Yeomen of the Guard Extraordinary and Yeomen-Warders of the Tower.”

In Queen Elizabeth’s reign, their daily pay amounted only to 8d.; and, after some years of petitioning, they obtained an increase of 6d. per diem at the hands of James I. They appear to have been a neglected set of men, for, on a petition of theirs, Lord Dartmouth, Master-General of the Ordnance in 1683, reported that they had not received any clothing for three years.

Abolition of
Purchase.

The appointment of Warder had been permitted to be sold by the Lieutenants of the Tower until the year 1688, when the following proper order was issued:—

“At the Court of Whitehall, the 20th July, 1688:

“Whereas it was this day represented to His Majesty that the places of Yeomen Warders of the Tower of London have been usually sold, and granted during life, the continuance of which practice must necessarily be prejudicial to His Majesty’s service, &c. &c.

“And His Majesty is further pleased to order,

(1) “A warrant of Exchequer to deliver to Peter Richardson, goldsmith, £600 prest, to be employed in fine silver, to make spangles for the livery coats of the guard, *the yeomen of the Tower of London*,” &c. (Strype’s *Eccles. Mem.*, an. 1551.)

No. 44.



Yeoman of the Guard, 1687. (From Sandford's *Coronation of James II.*)

that henceforward no Lieutenant of his Tower of London do presume to sell the Yeoman Warders' places," &c.

Certain orders for the regulation of the duty of the warders were issued in the 5th of James I., directing that twenty-five shall always remain within the Tower, also as to the keeping of the gates, from their first opening until the closing at night, and that each warder shall bear a halbert or bill, where-soever he goes within the said Tower. The ancient ceremony observed at the opening and shutting of the gates and delivery of the keys, is kept up to the present day. The number of the warders is forty, and they are now selected from meritorious non-commissioned officers of the army.

With respect to the handsome and unique dress of the Yeomen, it is interesting to regard it as being the only English costume extant which retains a close resemblance to that in existence nearly four hundred years ago. Plate XLIV. represents a Yeoman of the Guard in 1687, from Sandford's *Coronation of James II.* Costume.

The first mention of it that appears is in 1513, when Henry VIII. was attended to the siege of Terouenne by "six hundred archers of his garde, al in white gabberdines and cappes."⁽¹⁾ This was probably a military dress adapted for active service; but, apparently, no distinctive costume was appropriated to them until 1526.

By the sumptuary statute, 7 Hen. VIII. c. 6 (A.D.

(¹) Hall's *Chron.*, sub anno 1513.

1515), "Yeomen of the King's Garde, and Yeomen of the Queen's chamber that be daily Wayters and Yeomen of the Crown, may wear in their doubletts black velvet, satyn, or damask, and in their gowns chamlett.

From an Order in Council, we gather that it was the King's intention to equip the guard in uniform in the eighth year of his reign, but it was not carried out till the eighteenth:—

"HENRY VIII., &c.—Whereas We, by Our letter signed with our hand, bearing date, at our Manor of Greenwich, the 1st of May, *in the viiith year of Our Reign*, for divers considerations Us moving, have determined to give Livery Coats, as well to the Yeomen of our Garde, as unto all other Yeomen, Grooms, and others, have commanded Our trustie and well-beloved servant John Surley, Esq., Cofferer of our Household, to deliver unto Our trusty Servant Laurence Eglesfield, Yeoman Usher of our Chamber, for the buying of cccxiii Yardes and an half (very exact) of Broad Cloth, of colour Red, for Coats for lx. Yeomen of Our Garde, at vs. iiiid. the yard, &c.

"Given under our Signet, at our Castle of Windsor, the tenth day of June, *in the xviii. Year of Our Reign.*" (Cotton. Lib., *Vespasian*, c. xvi.)

It is somewhat curious that only sixty coats were ordered; but the year 1526 was one of economy and reform, which produced the Eltham Statutes. It has already been stated that in this year sixty-four yeomen were displaced, and sent home on a short allowance, to be ready when called for. But as the effective force of the corps, after these displacements,

far exceeded the number of coats ordered, either a selected number only were to be clothed uniformly, or those on duty were to use the coats, turn about. From that time to the present the coats have always been red.

Sir Joseph Ayloffe, in his description of the picture at Windsor Castle, representing the interview of the two above-named sovereigns, says:—"The Marquis of Dorset is followed by six of the Yeomen of the Guard on foot, bearing partisans on their shoulders. Their habit is scarlet, guarded and laced on the skirts and sleeves with garter blue velvet, and on their breasts and backs is the Union Rose, ensigned with the crown royal embroidered with gold. ⁽¹⁾ See also the engraving at the Society of Antiquaries of the procession of Edward VI. to Westminster, taken from the fresco at Cowdray House, Sussex. The rose was combined with the thistle after the accession of James I., and the shamrock was added in 1802, after the union with Ireland.

The effigy of one "William Payne, late Youman of the Garde" (who died in 1568), on a brass in the Church of East Wickham, Kent, represents a stout man, with pointed beard, in doublet and trunk hose (the sleeves are puffed at the shoulder, or are overlapped with a sort of epaulet), with the rose and crown on his breast, a ruff round his neck, and a sword by his side.

On the brass in Wingfield Church, before-mentioned (p. 520), there is the same style of doublet

⁽¹⁾ *Archæologia*, iii., p. 250.

or tunic, with pudding sleeves. The breast appears to show embroidery, perhaps some of the spangles which we hear of in Queen Mary's reign.

The Yeomen were furnished with scarlet hose up to the reign of George II., which occasioned a foreign visitor, in 1741, to observe that the Yeomen of the Guard were as red as lobsters :—

“ Une troupe d'Anglo-Suisses, qu'on nomme Yoman of the Gard, et par derision Roast-beef ou Beef-eaters, c'est à dire Mangeurs de Bœuf, remplissent la Salle des Gardes et en font les fonctions, dont la principale est de se ranger en haie, de taper de la hallebarde et de crier, ‘ Rangez-vous,’ lorsqu'ils voyent arriver un étranger ou autre personne de distinction. Leur quarrure ne dement pas le sobriquet qu'on leur donne, et ils sont marqués en écrevisses c'est à dire, vêtus de rouge depuis les pieds jusqu'à la tête.”⁽¹⁾

The stockings have since been worn of different colours—blue, grey, and white—until finally the scarlet hose, with the ruff of Queen Elizabeth's time, was restored to them by George IV. The Earl of Aylesford, Captain in 1785, ordered rosettes of red leather to be worn instead of shoe-buckles; these are now made of ribbon, red, white, and blue, in unison with those round the hat.

The following warrant was issued before the coronation of George III. :—

“ Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Cousin and Councillor,—We greet you well, and will and

⁽¹⁾ *Letters de M. le Baron Bielfield* (8°, 1763), tom. i., Lett. xxix., p. 262.

command you forthwith to deliver, or cause to be delivered, unto our Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Cousin and Councillor, Hugh Lord Viscount Falmouth, Captain of the Yeomen of our Guard and Warders of our Tower of London, or unto Savile Cockayne Cust, Esq., Clerk of the Cheque to the same, these Parcels following—that is to say, one hundred and forty coats of fine crimson, in grain cloth, lined with blue serge and guarded with blue velvet, edged and lined with gold lace, with rose, thistle, and crown, mottoes and scrowles, with our letter G. R. embroidered on back and breast of each coat, with silver spangles gilt, for one hundred Yeomen of our Guard, and forty Warders of our Tower of London; and one hundred and forty pair of like crimson cloth breeches, guarded with velvet and laced with gold lace; one hundred and forty black velvet bonnets, with crimson, white, and blue ribbands; one hundred and forty pair of grey worsted rowling stockings; one hundred and forty basket-hilted swords, with brass hilts and silver handles, double gilt; one hundred and forty partizans, chased and gilt, with cawls of crimson, skye-colour, and white silk; and sixteen more partizans, chased and ornamented as aforesaid, of a shorter and less size, being more commodious to be used by our aforesaid Guard when they attend the Royal chairs; one hundred and forty waist belts, and one hundred carbine belts, guarded with blue velvet and gold lace; one hundred and forty pair of Buck gloves; and £140, to be also delivered to the said Savile

Cockayne Cust, for watch gowns for them; with two large Cart Canvass Wrappers; and a large Bible, bound in rough leather, for the use of our Warders in the Tower of London: the said apparel to be put on and wore on the Day of Our Coronation. Given under our Signet, at the Palace of St. James's, this 29th day of May, 1761.

“ By His Majesty's Command,

“ BUTE.”

The Yeomen still wear the carbine belt over the shoulder, from left to right. Although only fifty formerly carried carbines, the whole were subsequently supplied with them, probably for the sake of uniformity, and a sword worn from a waist belt. The only difference made in the equipment of the Warders of the Tower, is the absence of the shoulder belt, as they never carried carbines.

On the 2nd of August, 1786, Margaret Nicholson, a lunatic, tried to assassinate King George III. with a knife, as his Majesty was alighting from his carriage at the garden gate of the palace; as she was making a second attempt, her arm was seized by one of the Yeomen of the Guard.

On the threatened Chartist demonstrations in 1848, St. James's Palace was garrisoned by the whole of both the Body-guards; the passages and halls were then filled with men clad in the old picturesque garb, reviving scenes of past history. On that occasion, muskets and bayonets were confided to the Yeomen—arms more congenial to the veterans now

composing the corps than the partisan, appropriate as it may be to State occasions.

The alacrity with which they turned out on the 10th of April is favourably acknowledged by a memorandum inserted in the Orderly Book, by order of the Captain, the Marquis of Donegal.

GENTLEMEN-AT-ARMS.

The Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, or as it has been called since 1830 (by command of King William IV.), "the honourable Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms," was originally a body-guard of horsemen, established by Henry VIII., in the first year of his reign, 1509, previous to his coronation. His father, as we have just seen, had instituted the Yeomen Guard, but the young and sumptuous-minded monarch was not content with an escort of yeomen, and so appointed an expensive corps of gentlemen, to be an honourable guard about his person, and to add dignity and splendour to his court.

A brief notice only of this corps is required here, the subject having already received ample justice at the hands of Mr. Pegge (*Curialia*, part ii.), and of Mr. Curling.⁽¹⁾

In some original statutes preserved in the Cottonian Library,⁽²⁾ the ostensible reason for the embodiment of "young gentlemen of noble blood" is stated in the preamble, namely, that by the exercise of arms

(1) *Some Account of the Ancient Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms*, by J. Bunce Curling, Clerk of the Cheque. 1850.

(2) *Titus*, A. xiii.—The original indented deed, with the signature.

they may be better qualified to serve their sovereign, either in peace or war. Most likely, however, the King wished to have a dashing escort of young noblemen to add to the brilliancy of his presence.

“ Certain Ordinances and Statutes devised and signed by the King’s Majestie for a retinewe of Speares or Men-at-Armes, to be chosen of Gentlemen that be commen [coming], and extracte of noble Blood. Withe a forme of their Othe.

“HENRY R.,—Forasmuche as the King our Sovraigne Lorde, of his greate noblenesse, wisdom, and prudence, considereth that in this his reame of England be many young Gentlemen of noble Blod, which have non exercise in the Feate of Armes, in handling and useying the Spere and other faits of Werre on horsebacke, like as in other Reames and Cuntreys be dayley practised and used, to the greate honor and laude of them that soo dothe, his Highnes hath ordeyned and appointed to have a Retynue daily of certaine Speres called Men of Armes, to be chosen of Gentlemen that be comen and extract of noble Blod, to thentent that they shall exercise the said Feate of Armes, and be the more mete and able to serve theire Prince, as well in tyme of Werre as otherwise, and to have good wages to live upon accordingly.

“And to thentent, alsoo, that every of them shall knowe howe to order and demeane themselves, his Highnes hath made, ordeyned, an established certaine Ordenances and statutes following :

“Furst, every of the said Gentlemen shall have

his Harneys complete and other Habiliments mete and necessary for him, with twoo Double Horses at the leaste for himself and his Page, convenient and necessarye for a Man of Armes; also his Coustrell, with a Javelyn or Demye-launce, well armed and horsed as it apperteyneth; And they shall obeye in every condicon the Captaine that shall be ordeyned and deputed by the King's Highnes or his Deputie Lieutenante to have the rule, conducte, and gov'nance of them in all things that their shall be commanded to doo on the King's behalf.

"Item, that they shall make their abode in such places as the King's Grace shall appointe them, or the said Captaine or the Deputie Lieutenante in the King's name, whedder it be in places nigh his person, or elsewhere, upon pain for every such defaulte to lose six day's wages.

"Item, that every of the forsaid Men of Armes shall furnyshe and make redy twoo good Archers well horsed and harnessed, and to bring them to muster before the King's Grace, or suche persones as his Grace shall appointe, within a moneth at the farthest after the daye that they shall be commanded soo to doo by the King's Grace, or their Captaine or Lieutenante, and not to faille soo to doo, upon paine of losing their Romes, and their bodies to be punyshed atte the King's pleasure.

"Item, for the wages and ent'teyning of the said Speres and Archers, the King's Highnes hath ordeyned and appointed that every Spere shall have and receive for Himselfe, his Coustrell, his Page

and his two Archers, thre shillings and foure pens sterlings by the daye, to be paid by hands of the Treasurer of the King's Chamber, which is appointed by the King's Highnes to paye them the same.

"Item, the King's pleasure is, that the said Lieutenante shall have for the Wages and Entertaining of Himself, his Coustrell, Page, and six Archers, six shillings by the daye, to be payed in like manner as the said Speres shall be.

"Item, the King's Grace woll that the said Captaine or Lieutenante, with suche other psones as his Grace shall appointe, shall every quarter of the yere as it shal be the King's pleasure, see the Musters of the said Men of Armes and their Company; if any of them lakke Horse, Harneys, or be not sufficient, the said Captaine or Lieutenante shall restrain his wages.

"Item, that the said Speres shall always be in the more arredynes [readiness], they shall always be redy to muster before the said Captaine, &c.

"Item, that the said Speres and their Company shall keep good rule and guv'nance, and paye in redy money for their vittals and all necessaries, &c.

"Item, that none of the said Speres shall presume to take his Lodging by his owne auctorite, but be ordered therein and take such Lodging as by the King's Herbergiers for that purpose deputed.

" THE OTHE.

The Oath.

"I shal be true and faithfull Subjecte and Servante unto our Soverine Lord King Henry the VIII.,

and to his Heirs, Kings of England, and diligently and truly give myn attendaunce in the Rome of oon of his Speres, and I shal be reteyned to no man, psone, ne psones, of what degre or condicon soever he be, by Othe, Lyvree Bagge [badge], Promise, or otherwise, but oonly to his Grace, without his especial Licence. And I shal not hereafter knowe or hear of any thing that shal be hurtefull or prejudiciall to his most royal pson, specially in treason, but I shal withstand it to th' uttermost of my power, and the same with all diligence, to me possible, disclose to the King's Highnes, or to the Captaine of the said Speres or his Deputie-Lieutenant, or such others of his Counsaile as I shal know wil discover the same unto his Grace. I shal not laye to pledge ne putte away suche Horse and Harneys as I nowe have mustered with before the King to any psone or psones, ne put oute of service any Archer, Custrell, or Page, that I have nowe with me, unless I have before showed cause resonable soo to doo to the King, or the said Captaine, or his Deputie-Lieutenant in his absence; nor suffer others to do so without disclosing the same. I shall also truly and faithfully to my power observe and kepe from this daye forwards all and every article comprized in a Booke assigned with the King's Hand. On this I shall be obeysaunte unto my Captaine or Deputie-Lieutenant. And all suche causes secrete as shal be shewed unto me by the King's Grace, the said Captaine or his Deputie, I shall keep counsaill without discovering of the same to any pson till I be commaunded. I shall diligently give

my attendaunce with my Retynue upon the King's Grace in suche wise I shall be commaunded, and not departe from the Courte without Licence. All suche Horse, Harneys, &c., as I muster in to be my own proper goods. To muster only with my own Archers, Custrell, or Page. And thus I shall well and truely observe and kepe, and serve the King in the said Rome of oon of his Speres.—So helpe me God and theis Holy Evangelies."

It has been shown that the formation of the Yeoman Guard was attributed to a French model, so also it is clear that the Gentleman Pensioners owed their origin to the same source. The Yeomen were formed after the French "Lesser Guard," the Pensioners after the "Grand Guard," or "*Compagnies des Cent Gentils-hommes du Bec de Corbin*," so named from the particular shaped axe or partisan which they carried. A description of them is given by Daniel, and the analogy is complete. They were formed from gentlemen of the "King's Hôtel," or "*Pensionnaires*;" hence, no doubt, the origin of the name of the English corps.⁽¹⁾ It appears by the following "*Orders of King James II.*," A.D. 1685, that the term "gentleman-at-arms" was applied to those who were candidates for admission into the corps:—

"I. The Honourable Band of our Gentlemen Pensioners having the honour to have daily access to our Presence Chamber, as being our nearest Guard

⁽¹⁾ *Milice Française*, tom. ii., liv. ix., p. 100, edit. 1721.

and principal military Corps of our Household—in which honourable Band our Royal Father in his late Civil Wars, as well as other Princes our Predecessors, having found great service as well in the guard of their Royal Persons as that it hath served them as a Nursery to breed up the Nobility and Gentry of the Realm in military discipline, and fit them to be Commander in their Wars—and we having taken notice that several Persons have been admitted into the said Band not qualified as heretofore for that service, which has rendered the said Band less grateful to Us; We think fit and ordain that henceforth none shall be admitted to be of the Forty Gentlemen Pensioners in Ordinary but the sons of Noblemen or Gentlemen of Blood, or such persons who by their valour and good conduct in the Wars have distinguished themselves as Commissioned Officers in our forces, and who shall, for the term of six months at the least, have served at their own proper charge as *Gentlemen at Arms*, commonly called Gentlemen Pensioners Extraordinary of the said Band.”

In Article 21 of these Orders, it is laid down that “The Gentlemen Pensioners in Ordinary and the Gentlemen-at-Arms Extraordinary of the said Band, shall be advanced to be commissioned officers in Our Army, preferably to all other persons whatsoever.”

The corps had deteriorated—not in loyalty, no doubt—but by the introduction into its ranks of persons possessing neither military qualifications, nor

position in society to warrant their admission. By a regulation passed in King George IV.'s reign, was determined that "no candidate shall be deemed eligible to enter the ranks of the Gentlemen-at-Arms who is or has been connected with trade." The Gentlemen-at-Arms are styled esquires in their warrant of appointment, and rank with captains in the army. Moreover, "the Captains of the Band had freedom and power of disposing of all places of Gentlemen Pensioners in Ordinary, and of all Gentlemen Pensioners Extraordinary, which shall at any time become vacant, in as full and ample manner as any Captains of the Band have enjoyed and practised the same before the last establishment in the year 1670."⁽¹⁾ But William IV., who, as it has been already observed, took a warm interest in the Body Guards, restored the ancient requirement that none should be admitted to the corps but "such persons who by their valour and good conduct in the war have distinguished themselves as Commissioned Officers in the forces."

The following Order was issued by him :—

"Brighton, December 3rd, 1830.

"The King transmits to the Captain of the Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms, for his guidance, a regulation enclosed, which His Majesty has thought fit to establish with respect to filling up the vacancies which may hereafter occur by death or retirement, not entitled to sale, in that corps.

"WILLIAM R.

(¹) Orders of King James II., *ut supra*.

"The whole of the officers to be named by His Majesty, who will reserve to himself, exclusively, the selection of the most proper persons, as vacancies occur, from lists kept by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, who will be responsible to the King for the past conduct and merit of those who may be recommended.

"The Lieutenant either to be, or to have been, a Colonel or Lieutenant-Colonel in the British Army, or Corps of Royal Marines.

"The Standard-Bearer, the Clerk of the Cheque, and the Harbinger to be, or to have been, Lieutenant-Colonels in the Army or Marines.

"The Private Gentlemen to be, or to have been, Captains or Subalterns in the British Army or Royal Marines, to be selected from lists kept by the Commander-in-Chief, and by him laid before the King, who will make his choice both of the Officers and Private Gentlemen of the Corps.

"The Officers and Private Gentlemen, if on half-pay, are to enjoy the same together with their salaries."

This unquestionable improvement, however, reverses the intention of the founder, namely, that the band should be a nursery for officers of the army.

The Gentlemen Pensioners were granted the privilege by their founder of doing duty by detachments, which was called "quarterly-waiting," as appears by the orders issued when Sir Anthony Browne was captain, which are preserved in the Harleian MSS., No. 6,142. These orders are without date, but Henry

Bourchier, Earl of Essex, who was the first captain of the band, whom Sir Anthony Browne succeeded, died 1540. The whole band was to give attendance under cheque as formerly at the four principal feasts of the year, viz., Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and Allhallows. The privilege is stated to have been granted at the special suit of Sir Anthony Browne, and in consideration whereof, the pensioners were to provide three horses furnished instead of two.⁽¹⁾

Passing over some notices, when the pensioners acted merely as a guard of honour at home, they are found actively engaged as an escort to their founder in his expedition to France in 1544. In the printed account before quoted,⁽²⁾ we find "the King's Majestie in the myds of his Pikemen;" and in the picture of the siege of Boulogne, we discover, what may fairly be presumed to be, the King's "retinue of Spears" in close attendance on the royal person, while a charger, richly caparisoned, probably the King's, is awaiting immediately in their front, held apparently by one of the Yeomen of the Guard.

In the succeeding reign, we may see them in the young King's procession from the Tower to Westminster: "The pensioners and men of armes, with their polle-axes on either side the way on foote."⁽³⁾ On the day of the coronation, the pensioners ap-

(1) The same privilege was conferred on the French Gentlemen Guard in 1585:—"Sa Majesté ordonne que les deux cents gentils-hommes de sa maison servirent chacun *par quartier* près de sa personne." (*Mil. Fran.*, tom. ii., liv. ix., p. 105.)

(2) See YEOMEN OF THE GUARD, p. 512 *ante*.

(3) Leland's *Collectanea*, iv. 312.

peared "apparelled all in red damaske, with their pole-axes in their hands."⁽¹⁾

It was the custom of those days for most of the great officers of state and principal nobility to be in charge of bands or troops of men-at-arms, which were then maintained with allowances from the Crown, and which command they held irrespectively of any other public office or employment. They were occasionally mustered and marched before the King, and with them the Gentlemen Pensioners. One of these grand field-days took place in 1551, of which Strype gives an account, and also the reason assigned for holding it:—

"The King was minded to see his standing Forces, Horse and Foot, muster before him, and the rather that he might be in a readiness in case any rising might happen, as was apprehended by the discontented Duke of Somerset and his party. So there were letters written and directed to certain of the Chief Officers of the Army to have the Gendarmary and Bands of Horsemen, which were appointed there in a readiness to be seen by His Majesty, the Sunday following Hallowtide next, being 8th November. And a like letter was dispatched to the Marquis of Northampton (Captain of the Band of Pensioners), to have the Band appointed him in a readiness, with all the Pensioners and Men of Arms attending the Court.

"In Hyde Park was then a great Muster in the King's presence, after this manner. First came the King's trumpeters. Then

"The Lord Bray, in gilt Harness, Captain of

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 322-324.

the Pensioners,⁽¹⁾ and a Great Banner of the King's Arms. Then

"All the Pensioners in complete Harness and great array, in White and Black, five and five in a rank; and after them came their servants, in number an Hundred, with Great Horses and Harness, in White and Black, with Spears."⁽²⁾

There were eleven companies or troops mustered under their respective captains or proprietors, bearing the standards of their family arms, and clad in the family colours.

It may here be observed that the term "company" or "troop" had formerly a much more enlarged meaning than at present. It referred to what would now almost constitute a regiment: for instance, the "Pensioners," the "Gentlemen," with their two archers, amounted to 150 horsemen without the officers. In after years we find the "troop of Horse Grenadier Guards," and other independent "troops," similarly constituted.

The King goes on to say, that "the horses all fair and great, the worst would not have been given for less than *twenty pounds*: there was none under fourteen handfulls and a half the most part, and almost all the horses with their guider going before them. They passed twice about St. James's Field, and compassed it round and so departed."

(1) He was the Lieutenant, and commanded in the absence of the Captain, Lord Northampton, who marched at the head of the fourth company, his own corps, who mustered under his own standard, and wore his family colours.

(2) *Eccles. Mem.*, anno 1551.

The following reign of Queen Mary was ushered in amidst a crowd of difficulties. Rome and the projected Spanish marriage presented elements of insoluble discord. The Queen scarcely knew whom to trust. She was even so ill advised as to think of surrounding herself with an Irish body-guard; and she went so far as to send a commission to Sir George Stanley for their transport. The scheme was, however, abandoned.⁽¹⁾ Six months had barely elapsed since her accession, before the metropolis was thrown into consternation by the news that Sir Thomas Wyatt, with an army of rebels, having successfully encountered the royal troops at Rochester, was in direct march on London. We are told that there was "so great a terrour to all sorts of people, that at Westminster Hall the serjeants and other lawyers pleaded in harness,"⁽²⁾ and that Dr. Weston "sang mass in harness before the Queen; tradesmen attended in harness behind their counters; the metropolis, on both sides of the water, being in an attitude of armed expectation."⁽³⁾ It was a situation sufficiently appalling for the Sovereign, or, indeed, for any one. On Saturday, February 3, 1554, Wyatt, at the head of the insurgents, marched into Southwark, with the design of entering the City. London Bridge was then a long, narrow street, with a gate at the Southwark extremity, and a draw-bridge near the middle. The gate was secured, and

Wyatt's
Rebellion.

(1) Tanner, MSS. 90, Bod. Lib.—Froude, vi. 102.

(2) Baker's *Chron.*, p. 318.

(3) Froude, vi. 170.

the drawbridge broken down.. There was extraordinary inaction on both sides. Had there been zeal for the Queen's cause, the rebels would have been crushed. The leading men wavered. Had Wyatt been able at once to have entered the City, the rising, in all probability, would have been successful, but delay was fatal to his cause. In the darkness of night, Wyatt scaled the leads of the gate-house, and made a personal reconnaissance.⁽¹⁾ He considered his advance that way to be hopeless. He, however, hung thereabouts till Tuesday, when he resolved to make for Kingston, cross the river there, and so enter London. His friends in the City promised to receive him, could he reach Ludgate by daybreak on Wednesday. He marched out with about 1,500 men. He had cannon with him, which delayed his march, but at four in the afternoon he reached Kingston. Thirty feet of the bridge were broken away, and 300 men were stationed on the other side. These, however, fled after a few rounds from the guns. A row of barges lay on the opposite bank; he induced three men to swim across and tow them over; they were then moored where the bridge was broken, beams and planks laid across them, and a means of transit was thus afforded of sufficient strength to bear the guns and wagons.

Wyatt crosses
the Thames.

By eleven o'clock at night the river was crossed, and the march resumed. The weather was bad, and the roads heavy; and through that winter night the motley party plunged along. The Rochester men

(1) Holinshed.

had most of them gone home, and those who remained were mostly London deserters, or fanatics who believed they were fighting the Lord's battle.

Between two and three in the morning the Queen was called from her bed. She was informed that the insurgents had forced the bridge, and would shortly be in London. She was urged to fly—that her barge was ready, and she could escape to Windsor. Mary, however, evinced the spirit of the Tudors—she was firm, and wisely determined to remain.⁽¹⁾

At four o'clock a.m. drums went round the City, calling the armed citizens to an immediate muster at Charing Cross; and by eight, more than ten thousand men were stationed along the ground, then an open field, which slopes from Piccadilly to Pall Mall. The road on which Wyatt was expected to advance ran nearly on the site of Piccadilly itself. At the top of St. James's Street guns were placed, and the gentlemen, who formed four squadrons of horse, were pushed forward towards Hyde Park Corner.

The Yeomen-Guard was out with the musters, a part stationed with Sir John Gage and some horse at Charing Cross. The duty of guarding the Queen's person was entrusted to the Gentlemen Pensioners. Disaffection, however, existed there. Sir Humphrey Radcliff, the Lieutenant, was "a favourer of the Gospel," as we learn from the hand of one of the band, a "Hot Gospeller," who gives an account of

(1) "But more than marvel it was to see that day the invincible heart and constancy of the Queen herself, who, being by nature a woman, and therefore commonly more fearful than men be, shewed herself in that case more stout than is credible." (Holinshead.)

the conduct of the Pensioners on that eventful occasion.⁽¹⁾ The writer, who had done good military service in the two preceding reigns, had been under a cloud for having published what was considered a seditious poem. He had been released from Newgate on account of his state of health, and by giving security. When Wyatt marched into Southwark, the Pensioners were commanded to watch in armour that night at the Court. It was not unreasonable that so notorious a person as Underhill should be prohibited from remaining on duty at such a time of danger. "After supper," says he, "I put on my armour, as the rest did, for we were appointed to watch all the night. So, being all armed, we came up into the chamber of presence with our poleaxes in our hands, wherewith the ladies were very fearful. Some lamenting, crying, and wringing their hands, said, 'Alas! there is some great mischief toward; we shall all be destroyed this night. What a sight is this, to see the Queen's chamber full of armed men: the like was never seen nor heard of!' Mr. Norris, chief usher of Queen Mary's privy chamber, was appointed to call the watch to see if any were lacking; unto whom Moore, the clerk of our check, delivered the book of our names; and when he came to my name, 'What,' said he, 'what doth he here?' 'Sir,' said the clerk, 'he is here ready to serve as the rest be.' 'Nay, by God's body,' said he, 'that heretic shall not watch here. Give me a pen.' So he struck my name out of the book."

(1) Underhill's Narrative: Harl. MSS., 425.—See also Strype, *Eccles. Mem.*, anno 1553, iii. 100.

Wyatt was delayed on his march by the breaking down of a gun at Brentford, which he ought to have left behind, in order to have kept his appointment in the City, as he was urged to do; but he obstinately persisted in waiting until the carriage could be repaired, so that it was nine o'clock before he brought what remained of his force—wet, hungry, and faint with their night-march—up the hill from Knights-bridge. Near Hyde Park Corner a lane turned off; a troop of horse was posted there; and as the insurgents straggled on without order, when half of them had passed, the cavalry dashed out, and so divided them, and all who were behind were dispersed or captured. The Queen's guns then opened fire upon those in front, and killed three men; but Wyatt hurried on, and, turning to the right, struck down towards St. James's. He then went along the present Pall Mall, amidst a line of citizens, who might easily have stopped him, but they made way for him and let him pass. As he came up to Charing Cross, Lord Courtenay turned his horse's head, and, followed by Lord Worcester, galloped down to Whitehall, calling out, "Lost, lost!" and carried panic to the Court. The guard broke at his flight, and came hurrying behind him. The Queen, who had been watching from the palace gallery, alone retained her presence of mind, and declared, that if others durst not stand the trial against the traitors, she herself would go out into the field and try the quarrel, and die with those that would serve her.⁽¹⁾

Wyatt
at Kn
brid

(1) Holinshed, p. 1,099.

A portion of the rebels had separated from Wyatt at Hyde Park Corner, and made their way to Westminster, and so up to Whitehall. But finding the gates closed, they shot a few arrows at the windows, and passed on. At Charing Cross they were encountered by Sir Henry Jerningham, Captain of the Guard; Sir Edward Bray, Master of the Ordnance, and Sir Philip Paris, who were sent by the Earl of Pembroke with a band of archers to intercept them. Here there was a little fighting. Both sides being dressed alike—viz., in white coats, except the Guards—the rebels could only be distinguished by the mire and dirt on their clothes; so the cry on the Queen's side was—"Down with the daggie-tails!"

The Pensioners, who were then in the hall, demanded that the gates might be opened, declaring that "it was too great shame that the gate should be thus shut for a few rebels, and that the Queen should see them fell down her enemies before her face."⁽¹⁾

The gates were then opened, and the Gentlemen Pensioners issued forth; and there is no saying what feats of arms they might not have performed had not their Royal mistress restrained them, for she desired that they would not go out of her sight, as her only trust was in them for the defence of her person that day. They marched up and down for the space of an hour before the window of the gallery over the gate, where the Queen was, when news was brought that Wyatt was taken. "Anon after," continues Underhill, "the Guard of Pensioners were all brought

⁽¹⁾ Underhill.

into the Queen's presence, and every one kissed her hand, of whom they had great thanks and large promises, how good she would be unto them; but few or none of us got anything."

Wyatt marched as far as "a common inn called the Bell Sauvage,"⁽¹⁾ but, finding Ludgate closed against him, he tried to make his way back again. But his luck had also now turned; a herald at Temple Bar called out to him to surrender, and he there delivered up his sword; and, to prevent the press, Sir Maurice Barkley, who "by chance was riding to London upon his horse with footcloth without armour," took him up behind, and he was afterwards safely lodged in the Tower.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the position of a Gentleman Pensioner was a very expensive one; it was considered a high honour to be a member of the band. The Earl of Clare said "that when he was pensioner to the Queen, he did not know a worse man of the whole band than himself; and that all the world knew he had then an inheritance of £4,000 a-year."⁽²⁾ Mrs. Quickly, indeed, gives a Gentleman Pensioner the precedence of an earl;⁽³⁾ and the magnificence of his dress is alluded to in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, where we are told of Titania, that—

"The cowslips tall her pensioners be;
In their gold coats spots you see."

Hentzner, who went to Greenwich on a Sunday,

⁽¹⁾ Holinshed.

⁽²⁾ *Biographica Britannica*, sub voce *Holles*, n., vol. iv., p. 2,628.

⁽³⁾ *Merry Wives of Windsor*, act ii., scene 2.

to see the Queen pass through the Hall on her way to the Chapel, says "she was guarded on each side by Gentlemen Pensioners (*Satellites nobiles*), fifty in number, with gilt battle-axes." By the fact of the whole band being in attendance, that Sunday must either have been a high-day, or perhaps, the Court being out of town, all were required to attend.

The band in attendance on Queen Elizabeth, with their poll-axes, is clearly discernible in the painting representing Her Majesty in procession to Blackfriars, in June, 1600. In this picture, in the collection of Lord Digby, at Sherborne Castle, the Gentlemen Pensioners are dressed uniformly in black cloaks, with ruffs about their necks.⁽¹⁾

It was probably in consideration of the constant services which the Queen exacted from this band—which may be said to have reached its zenith during her reign—that she was induced to give a table to those on duty, a privilege which they had never enjoyed before, and which, in the following reign, appears to have been commuted for an equivalent in board wages; for in the State Paper Office there exists an order on the Exchequer, signed by James I., in 1616, for an "imprest of six thousand pounds, for wages and board wages then due to the officers and the band in general."⁽²⁾

(¹) An engraving of this picture was made by Vertue for the Society of Antiquaries, in 1742, and until lately was considered as the visit of the Queen to Hunsdon House, Herts, in 1580. (See Mr. Scharf's (F.S.A.) able exposition of it in the *Archæolog. Journ.*, No. 90, p. 131.)

(²) *Book of the Court*, by W. J. Thoms, p. 355.

On the accession of James I., the Captain of the Pensioners, George Lord Hunsdon, who had been appointed to the command at the death of his father, thought it proper to address the following letter, tendering the services of the band to the King. As it gives a description of the Corps, it is worth reprinting:—

“Most mighty and most gracious Liege and Sovereign,—

“Amongst many other honours and duties which I owe unto the memory of my late deceased Sovereign, this is not the least; that it pleased her Majesty, upon the decease of my lord and father, who also enjoyed the same honourable office, to grace me with the Captainship of her Band of Gentlemen Pensioners; which place and dignity I have to this present enjoyed; for the further continuance whereof I humbly desire to understand your Majesty's directions, and withal do think it a matter agreeable to my duty and allegiance, plainly and truly to inform your Majesty of the institution, nature, quality, and service of this honourable band. They are in all fifty gentlemen, besides myself, lieutenant, standard-bearer, clerk of the cheque, and gentleman harbinger, chosen out of the best and the ancientest families of England, and some of them sons to Earls, Barons, Knights and Esquires, men thereunto especially recommended for their worthiness and sufficiency, without any stain or taint of dishonour, or disparagement in blood. Her Majesty and other Princes her predecessors have found great use of their services, as

well in the guard and defence of their royal persons, as also in sundry other important employments, as well civil as military, at home and abroad; inasmuch as it hath served them always as a nursery to breed up Deputies for Ireland, Ambassadors into foreign parts, Counsellors of State, Captains of the Guard,⁽¹⁾ Governors of Places, and Commanders in the wars both by sea and land. Withal, I cannot omit to signify unto your Majesty the alacrity and affection wherewith, upon the decease of her Majesty, they did embrace your Majesty's title and cause; insomuch that upon my motion they did most willingly offer themselves to a strong and settled combination, by solemn oath and vow, to defend and prosecute your Majesty's lawful right and title by themselves, their friends, allies and followers (being no contemptible portion of the kingdom), to the last drop of their blood, against all impugnors whatsoever; with which humble and dutiful desires of theirs to serve your Majesty I thought it my part and duty to acquaint you, and withal humbly desire to know your Majesty's pleasure and resolution concerning them. I have caused them to remain all about the court, with their horses, armour, and men, to attend the body of our late royal mistress; and being generally all desirous to wait upon your Majesty at your entry into this

⁽¹⁾ Queen Elizabeth's handsome favourite, Sir Christopher Hatton, for instance, from being appointed one of the Pensioners, became successively a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, Vice-Chamberlain, a Knight of the Garter, and at last High Chancellor. (See *Memoirs of Sir Christopher Hatton*, by Sir Harris Nicolas.)

kingdom, as those that would be loth to be second to any in all obsequious and serviceable duties to your Majesty, where I humbly desire your Majesty's further direction,

“And ever desire Almighty God,” &c.⁽¹⁾

Two years after the accession of James—namely, Powder in 1605—occurred the Gunpowder Plot, and, unfortunately, two members of the band were seriously implicated in it: one no less a personage than the Captain, the Earl of Northumberland (who had succeeded Lord Hunsdon); and the other, Thomas Percy, a kinsman of the Earl. This latter was a prime mover in the conspiracy, and when the plot was discovered, fled to the country, making for Holbeach House, in Warwickshire, the residence of Stephen Littleton, one of the associates, and there, with a few others, he was hunted down and shot by the *posse comitatus*, headed by the sheriff of the county. Northumberland came under a grave suspicion of a guilty knowledge. He was sentenced by the Star Chamber to pay a fine of £30,000, to be deprived of all his places, and to undergo perpetual imprisonment for misprision of treason, in admitting his kinsman into the band without tendering to him the oath. After suffering fifteen years' imprisonment in the Tower, he was then released.

During the reign of Charles I. the Pensioners gave faithful service to their sovereign. For some

(1) Printed in Chamberlayne's *Present State of England* (1748), pt. ii., p. 126.

reason the band did not attend the King to Scotland in 1640,⁽¹⁾ but upon his return from that country in the next year he was "royally feasted" at Guildhall, whither he was attended by the Earl of Salisbury, Captain of the Pensioners, followed by "the Gentlemen Pensioners, with their poll-axes, all mounted, with pistols at their saddles."⁽²⁾

When the King made his indiscreet entry into the House of Commons in the next year, he was attended by his Guard of Pensioners and Halbertiers.⁽³⁾

In the following year, when Charles was at Oxford, and had reason to fear assassination, it was commanded that "as often as his Majesty did ride abroad, the Captain of his Majesty's Guard (Yeomen), the Lieutenant of the Pensioners, and four of the Pensioners, should ride continually near his Majesty's person, to suffer none of mean condition, or unknown to them, to come near his Majesty."

At Edgehill the King was begged to withdraw to a place of safety, "having his Guard of Pensioners on horseback with him."⁽⁴⁾ According to a MS. in the possession of Dr. Lingard, one of the band performed there an act of especial service to the royal family: "The Prince of Wales, about twelve years old, who was on horseback in a field under the care of Sir John Hinton, had a narrow escape. 'One of the troopers observing you,' says Hinton, 'came in

(1) Clarendon, *State Papers*, ii. 90.

(2) Rushworth, vol. i., pt. iii., p. 431.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 477.—Ludlow, p. 11.

(4) Bulstrode, p. 80.

full career towards your highness. I received his charge, and having spent a pistol or two on each other, I dismounted him in the closing; but being armed cap-à-pie, I could do no execution on him with my sword: at which instant one Mr. Mathews, a Gentleman Pensioner, rides in, and with a poll-axe decides the business."⁽¹⁾

Orders for the government of the band, issued in 1633, will be found in Mr. Curling's *History*, p. 97.

Whether the Band of Pensioners was dismissed in form at the time of the Protectorate, or merely dissolved by the accidents of the times, does not appear. Cromwell had a body guard, which consisted of 140 horse, formed apparently on the model of the Pensioners.

At the Restoration, such of the old band as had survived the shock of civil war, appear voluntarily to have attended, deeming themselves, it is presumed, rather suspended than dismissed. They were soon, however, regularly re-embodied; and in the following July, when Charles II. dined in state at Guildhall, they marched on foot on each side of the King's carriage, with pistols in their hands, under the command of the Earl of Cleveland, their captain.

In 1670, the strength of the band was reduced from fifty to forty, at which it has ever since continued, and the pay of the several ranks was fixed, namely: £1,000 to the captain, £500 to the lieutenant, £310 to the standard-bearer, £4,000 to

⁽¹⁾ *History of England*, sub anno 1642.

the forty gentlemen, £120 to the clerk and £70 to the gentleman harpur. Above was given, no augmentation taken place up to the present day.

An important order was promulgated so far as the Pensioners were concerned, that the King resumed the appointment band, which had previously been lost of the captain; but in 1677, an exception to this rule in favour of the Earl of Albemarle, in consequence of the sense the King bore of the constant loyalty of his family to the crown, and of their great sufferings for the service, was thereby given to him to displace as shall be vacant by death, so long as he shall continue captain." Every gentleman was ever, to be presented to the King for his approbation.⁽¹⁾ This privilege was reservedly conferred upon the captain and appears never to have been altered. William IV. made the alteration in the band.

The honour of knighthood was conferred by the Sovereign at his coronation upon officers or gentlemen of the corps. After his coronation in Scotland (1706) less than seventeen of his Gentlemen were created. At the coronation of George III., the

(1) According to the petition of Samuel Pepys, who possessed of his place by Lord Lovelace, a price for admission into the band.

and the Senior Gentleman were knighted. It subsequently became the practice of knighting the Lieutenant of the Band, as well as the Lieutenant of the Yeomen of the Guard, as a matter of course, whereby many who had been anxious for that distinction were induced to purchase into these corps, thereby reducing to a marketable commodity that which by right should be regarded as a record and reward of services rendered to the Sovereign and country.

The band has ever since existed merely as a guard of the Sovereign, within the verge of the court, on state ceremonials, and as such, rather as an appendage to Royalty than as a military body; with one exception—in the rebellion of 1745, the Pensioners received orders to hold themselves in readiness to accompany their royal master to the field. The news, however, of the battle of Culloden, made it unnecessary for his Majesty to take the command in person.

The following order was sent to the Clerk of the Cheque, by Sir William Wynne, the lieutenant:—

“SIR,—The Rebels having advanced to Derby, the King has signified his intention to set up his standard on Finchley Common; you are therefore commanded to warn the Gentlemen of the Band to be in readiness with their Servants, Horses, and arms to attend his Majesty there.

“WILLIAM WYNNE.”

With respect to their arms, the poll-axe has ever been their distinctive weapon, whether mounted or

on foot. Even in the battle-field, the axe was borne by the gentlemen so late as the Civil War, as has already been narrated. It has also been mentioned that they were armed with pistols.

With regard to their dress, there seems generally to have been a conformity: thus, at the siege of Boulogne, they were habited alike; and again, at the coronation of Edward VI., and at one of the musters in his reign, they appeared in complete harness, and in white and black. In the reign of Mary they mustered in white and green, a favourite colour of the house of Tudor. Charles II. laid down that they "be not obliged to wear or use any other habit, or give any other livery, than such as they themselves shall think fit." James II. ordered that each of them shall be provided "with a case of pistols, a broad-sword, an iron back, breast and head piece;" and further, that their "habits, arms, and clothing, shall be such as We or their Captain shall appoint."

"The trumpeters of Our Household attending on the said Band when they are under arms, shall on every such attendance henceforth be mounted upon white horses."

In 1712 (Queen Anne's reign), the Captain, the Duke of Beaufort, issued an order, "that the band should wear their new clothes, red topped shoes, a white feather, and hat according to pattern:" and for mourning, on the 6th of April, 1714 (on the decease of the Princess Sophia, daughter of Frederick, Elector Palatine, King of Bohemia, and Elizabeth, daughter of our James I.), "their regimental coat, a black

waistcoat, breeches and stockings, a mourning sword, and a plain hat." On the 2nd of August following, the gentlemen were ordered to carry their axes in mourning, on account of the Queen's death; and on the 10th, to attend the funeral in close mourning, cloaks excepted. At the funeral of George I., they were directed to "have for mourning a scarlet coat, trimmed with black, with a black cloth waistcoat and breeches, black band and buckles, and the axe in mourning," that is, the tufts black, and shafts covered with black velvet, in place of their usual covering of crimson velvet, ornamented with gilt nails.

The DRAWING-ROOMS, as we now call them, were introduced on the accession of George II. and Queen Caroline, and were held in the evening. The Duke of Montagu, the Captain of the Pensioners, in 1734, ordered that "five of the gentlemen do attend every morning in the Presence Chamber, with their axes, from the hour of ten in the morning till his Majesty is gone to dinner; and that they also attend with their battle-axes in the Presence Chamber every Drawing Room night, and other public nights, from eight o'clock in the evening till his Majesty is retired, and always to stand to their arms when any of the Royal Family or the Captain pass by."

On the death of Queen Caroline, in 1737, they were to appear "in a scarlet cloth coat, trimmed with black, with sleeves faced with black cloth, without buttons on the sleeves or pockets, with a black cloth waistcoat and breeches, cambric weepers, broad

hemmed, shammy gloves, crape hatbands, black swords and buckles."

Lord Hobart, the Captain in 1745, directed the gentlemen to discontinue the scarlet hose, which had previously been ordered to be worn on the birthday of George I., and to wear instead stockings of light grey. In addition to which, the band was in future to parade in brigadier perukes and buckskin gloves. On the demise of George III., the band was directed, in common with military and naval officers, to wear only crape round the left arm.

George IV., at his coronation, presented each Gentleman Pensioner with a magnificent dress, copied, it is stated, from that represented as worn by the band in the time of Queen Elizabeth, in the picture ordered to be painted by Lord Hunsdon, before alluded to. It consisted of a scarlet doublet, slashed with blue, and covered with innumerable gold buttons; red silk stockings, white shoes, with red and black roses, white gloves, and a black hat, with red and black feathers. Each dress is said to have cost £200.

Previous to the coronation of her present Majesty, the Band was ordered to be equipped in a style more appropriate for a cavalry corps than that worn during the last two reigns, which had been assimilated to the regimentals worn by the officers of the footguards. With the concurrence of the Captain, Lord Foley, Her Majesty sanctioned the present uniform, viz., a gilt helmet with plume of white feather, scarlet coatee, with facings of blue velvet, collar and

No. 45.

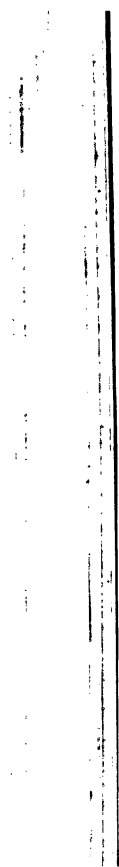


Gentleman Pensioner, 1687. (From Sandford's *Coronation of James II.*)

cuffs embroidered in gold, gold epaulettes, gold embroidered pouch and gold belt, blue cloth trousers with gold oak-leaf lace, heavy cavalry sash, sword, gold sling belt, boots and spurs, and white leather gauntlets.

PLATE XLV.—Gentleman Pensioner, 1687. From Sandford's *Coronation of James II.*

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